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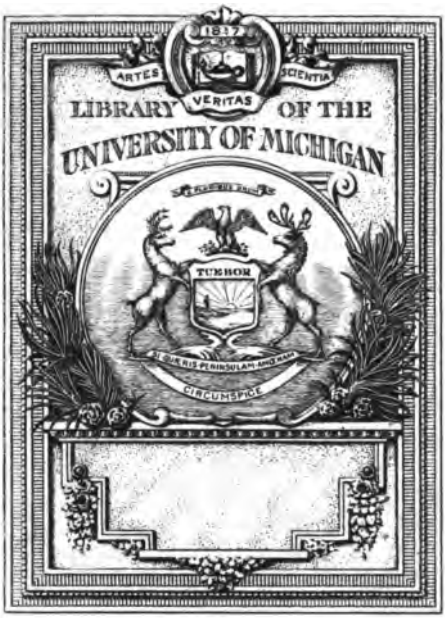
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A SEQUEL

TO THE

PRINTED PAPER

LATELY CIRCULATED IN WARWICKSHIRE

BY THE REV. CHARLES CURTIS,

BROTHER OF ALDERMAN CURTIS,

A BIRMINGHAM RECTOR, &c.

By Dr. Parr =

"Ορκοις τὰ μὴ δίκαια μὴ νικᾶν λέγω.

Æschyl. Eumen. line 432.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

MDCCXCII.

For an excellent character of this Pamphlet see Monthly Review for Nov. 1792 — Page 301

at

at same time it is a strange medley of personal altercation & Party Spirit, undeserving the notice of the Publick — except from Page 52 - ~~to Page~~ to Page 96 relative to Principles of Government, & the French Revolution

FRED LOCKLEY
RARE WESTERN BOOKS
4227 S. E. Stark St.
PORTLAND, ORE.

Dir.
Lockley
10-1-46
56371

FROM the respect I bear to the *critical powers* of Mr. Curtis, when exerted upon *his own* compositions, I shall mark the following variations in the readings of the St. James's Chronicle from those of the printed paper originally written, revised, and circulated by Mr. C. himself. I hope, therefore, to escape the slightest imputation of injustice, either to the meaning and the stile of the author, such as they are, or to the taste and zeal of the republisher, whoever he may be.

VARIÆ LECTIONES.

For, *Of Mr. Curtis's having written*, as it stands in the proem of the printed paper, the Chronicle reads—*that the Rev. Mr. Curtis, Rector of Solihul (brother to alderman Curtis) had written*—

At the beginning of the 4th sentence of the great work itself, *that* is inserted in the printed paper, and omitted in the Chronicle before the words, *he then suspected*.

Anonymously in the first page of the printed paper, is spelled *anonimously* in the first column of the Chronicle; but the Italics are preserved.

Letters, page 3d line 1st of the printed paper is made *letter* in the second column of the Chronicle.

Cut of in the printed paper is made *cut off* in the Chronicle.

Author in the printed paper is uniformly spelled *authour* in the Chronicle.

N. B. Upon the application of my Bookseller, I have permitted a second edition of the Sequel to be published: I have corrected such errors of the press as I could discover in the first, and I have introduced some *enlarged*, and some *additional*, notes into the Appendix. In respect to Mr. C., I have made a few observations upon his late narrative about the riots, and assigned my reasons for making them. But I have forborne to avail myself of those important illustrations which some recent discoveries about the charity schools at Birmingham, would have enabled me to throw upon his talent of *forgetfulness*.

ERRATA.

Page 7 Note, *line* 11. *for* with *read* about.
31 *line ult. for* συνἀπτεται *read* συνάπτεται.
68 *line* 24. *for* pamplet *read* pamphlet.
75 Note * *line* 5. *for* κυϑερνατηρ *read* κυϑερνατὴρ.
99 *line* 9. *for* pecularities *read* peculiarities.
105 Note, *line* 11. *for* Φιλοπροεδριας *read* Φιλοπροεδρίας.
Ibid. *line* 6. *from bottom, for* ϖαιτῶν *read* ϖάντων.
182 *line* 3. *after* or *insert* to.
196 *line* 9. *for* respectively *read* respectfully.
199 *line* 34. *read* contemplating the fair, or, I should rather say, the fond, &c.
213 *line* 3. *for* republishing *read* introducing.

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

BEFORE the appearance of the printed paper circulated by Mr. Curtis, I neither intended nor wiſhed to be inſtrumental in making our diſpute a ſubject of converſation in the neighbourhood. The buſineſs, I thought, might with conſummate propriety have reſted, where it ſtood after the interview at Coventry, and there, I believe, it *would* have reſted, if the event had depended upon the delicacy of our friends, or upon my own judgment. In ſuch a caſe the affair would have been known, where only it ought to have been known, within a very narrow circle, and even in that circle it would have been forgotten after a very ſhort time. But from the obſcure intimations, and the known irritability of Mr. Curtis, I was not wholly without expectation of ſome ſtrong meaſure upon his part; and Mr. Curtis, I find, has, in this reſpect, not diſappointed me. Fortified, it ſhould ſeem, by his opulence, and emboldened a little by his ſtation, he has not yet been compelled to learn that leſſon which the wholeſome diſcipline of experience has long ago taught me, that they, who

from their natural diſpoſition feel warmly, ſhould ſtrive to acquire the habit of acting circumſpectly.

Soliciting Public attention.

The attention of the public is a moſt gracious boon, which they, who ſollicit it, ſhould alſo be ready to deſerve by the judicious choice, and the ſkilful management of their ſubject, by livelineſs of imagery, or ſolidity of reaſoning, by deſcriptions that may captivate, or by diſquiſitions that may improve. But nothing can be more irkſome to an ingenuous mind, than to call the notice of a reader to a topic merely perſonal, and by which, therefore, few will be amuſed, and none, probably, can be inſtructed. With a narrative, indeed, of ſuch cauſes as produce, and of ſuch circumſtances as inflame, the quarrels of private men, it is not eaſy to interweave any truths of high and extenſive uſefulneſs *; and as to the advantage to be derived from thoſe moral reflections which may be excited by the conduct

Personal controversy.

* In this pamphlet I have ſtated, without reſerve, what I think upon the politics of France; and as my purpoſe in doing ſo, has been very inaccurately repreſented in the public papers, it is neceſſary for me to lay before the reader the ſubſtance of a letter, which, in the month of December 1791, I was obliged to ſend to the Engliſh Chronicle. "In conſequence of a well-written paragraph, which appeared in your Chronicle of December 17th, I beg leave to inform the author, that I do not intend to enter into the wide range of French politics. I have, indeed, perſonal reaſons for touching upon them incidentally in the courſe of my ſtrictures upon that undiſciplined rabble of words, which lately have been let looſe upon me by one Mr. Charles Curtis, a Birmingham Rector. But I have nothing to ſay upon the ſubject, which is meant to inſtruct or gratify readers of taſte." I have not the paper, but I believe the foregoing to be nearly my words.

of

of the parties, it is too often impeded by perſonal diſlike and perſonal predilection, by doubts upon facts, which they who entertain them think it not worth while to ſettle, and by opinions of character which it is ſcarcely poſſible to alter.

The hiſtorian commands attention, and rewards it, by ſelecting the more brilliant circumſtances of great events, by unfolding the characteriſtic qualities of eminent perſonages, and by tracing well-known effects through all the obliquities, and all the receſſes of their ſecret cauſes. From the ordinary occurrences of life, as they influence the conduct of extraordinary men, the biographer collects ſuch ſcattered rays as may be concentrated into one bright aſſemblage of truth upon the character which he has undertaken to delineate. Even the noveliſt throws his enchantments around the fancy by fictitious repreſentations, which he can at will embelliſh into beauty, or exalt into dignity; and the polemic exerciſes his dominion over the reaſoning faculty, by poignancy of remark, and by ſubtilty of confutation. But none of theſe advantages fall to the lot of him who engages in ſuch a narrative as I am compelled to purſue. He aſcends no eminence, he repoſes under no ſhade, but is continually toiling onward without the cheering conſciouſneſs of progreſſion, ſometimes oppreſſed with languor, amidſt the dulneſs and the ſameneſs of the ſcenes which ſurround him, and ſometimes rouſed into exertion, by the noxious weeds that may offend his ſenſes, or by the rude briars that would intercept his way.

Upon ſuch occaſions as this, the ſtouteſt advocate in the beſt cauſe ſeldom has it in his power to produce in the minds of others, thoſe emotions which he may himſelf moſt keenly, and moſt ſincerely feel. Though proofs be accumulated, though arguments be framed, though eloquence be diſplayed to break the uniformity of narrative, and though wit be called in to temper the ſeverity of reaſon, the exertion of all theſe various powers will be ſilently counteracted and finally defeated, by the want of bulkineſs, or the want of ſplendour, in the ſubject itſelf. Conſcious of little real ſympathy, and expecting no uſeful inſtruction, men begin to read with vague inquiſitiveneſs, they continue to read with growing indifference, and, at laſt, with ſecret ſatisfaction they ceaſe to read. The candid are not pleaſed, the prejudiced are not convinced, the indolent are wearied, and the impertinent, or the malevolent alone are gratified. Even the members of thoſe petty cabals, which are ſometimes formed in conſequence of petty diſputes among their acquaintance, cannot long retain their importance, or their ardour. When they tell the tale which has often been told before, and tell it with freſh vehemence, unaccompanied by freſh evidence, they ſoon find themſelves unable to allure a hearer, or to provoke an opponent. Parties of this kind ſtart up like a bubble, ſuddenly and noiſily, and like a bubble too, they diſſolve and paſs away, without notice, and without effect.

To all theſe general conſiderations, which prudence ſuggeſts as reſtraints upon committing to the preſs the minute particulars of a private quarrel,

quarrel, other reaſons may be added. I could derive little advantage from vanquiſhing Mr. Curtis as a diſputant. I muſt expect yet leſs honour from excelling him as a writer. I ſhould feel no pleaſure at all in expoſing him as a man.

But the force of theſe numerous and formidable diſcouragements from publication has been, on a ſudden, deſtroyed, by the meaſures which the Reverend Mr. Curtis, brother to Alderman Curtis, has lately been pleaſed to adopt. While this Gentleman was content to pour forth his gloomy complaints, or his loud accuſations in private company, I remained in a ſtate of entire indifference. After he had circulated his printed paper, I preſerved a quiet, though a watchful, neutrality. But when he proclaimed, or ſuffered to be proclaimed, a partial tale in the Newſpaper, I felt myſelf under the unpleaſant, but irreſiſtible neceſſity of ſupplying his omiſſions, and of rectifying his miſtakes.

By that countleſs and harmleſs ſwarm of ſcribblers who amuſe themſelves, and readers equally idle with themſelves, by paragraphs upon my opinions in politics, my peculiarities in dreſs, or my love of ancient literature, I have too much firmneſs, and indeed, too much underſtanding, to be offended for one moment. My character, I am told, preſents a wide front for attack to theſe puny aſſailants, and ſo long as they abſtained from the poiſoned weapons of malevolence, I often ſmiled, as, no doubt, I often ſhall ſmile again, at the light and feeble ſhafts of ridicule. But when a clergyman ſhews, like Mr. Curtis, a fixed determination to inflict, if he can, ſome deep

deep and deadly wound upon my moral feelings, I will not refrain from doing that juſtice which I alike owe to him and to myſelf. The regard which I have generally, and juſtly paid to literary reputation, muſt, in this one inſtance, give way to the ſenſe I entertain of perſonal honour. "Omni- "no probabiliora ſunt quæ laceſſiti dicimus, quàm "quæ priores." Vid. Cicero de Orat. Lib. II.

Upon one ſubject, where Mr. Curtis could not mean very well, I have chaſtiſed him for the *unſeemlineſs* of his expreſſions. Upon another, where he reaſoned very ill, I have examined the force of all he ſaid, or *meant to ſay*; of all that will meet the mind of ſome readers, and more than meets the eye of any; of all that malice has hitherto been content to murmur, and all that credulity has been incited to babble. To harraſs Mr. Curtis himſelf with a number of *ſucceſſive* proofs, was therefore no leſs an act of deliberation, than to oppreſs his cauſe under their collective weight. Had I been contending with an opponent of giant ſtrength, I ſhould have launched the thunderbolt, and endeavoured to overwhelm him in one inſtant, by one blow. But upon Mr. Curtis I have ſhowered down the pelting hail * with equal effect. Solidity may be cruſhed, but feebleneſs can only be annoyed.

If upon *every* occaſion, indeed, that preſented itſelf, I had been diſpoſed to laſh him with ridi-

* Singula levia ſunt, & communia, univerſa vero nocent, etiamſi non ut fulmine, tamen ut grandine. Quintilian, lib. 5, cap. 12. Rollin's edition. Mr. Curtis will not take fright at this expreſſion, for he knows under *whoſe* auſpices he received a charter—"to ſit at eaſe, midſt ſhowers of paper, and "fierce hail of peaſe."

cule,

cule, or to ſtun him with argumentation, eaſy would have been the taſk, and the infliction juſt. But I was not willing to decorate ſo unfledged a writer as Mr. Curtis, with too rich a plumage of that importance, which oppoſition ſometimes beſtows upon the noiſy flutter of vanity, and the unavailing ſtruggles of imbecillity; nor was I forgetful, that the ſame circumſtances which had been adduced to warrant my ſuſpicions before private witneſſes ought to be laid before a public tribunal in the ſame form. Let me, however, not diſſemble the mortification I have felt, more than once, upon reflecting, that the ſubject which cannot be adorned, is ſeldom regarded, and that the fidelity which challenges contradiction, ſometimes drives away attention.

Upon tranſactions ſo deſtitute of dignity, and ſo barren of utility, I am ſorry to trouble the Reader with a detail, which, I am aware, will not grow in importance, as it grows in extent, and in which ſome of the facts may be ſaid rather to incumber by their multiplicity, than to relieve by their variety. But upon collecting and reviewing the materials of different kinds, and different ſizes, which really belong to the ſubject, I was ſometimes perplexed to determine their comparative fitneſs to be rejected or admitted; and I farther knew, that many particulars which, ſeparately conſidered, would appear frivolous, might, by a proper arrangement, contribute to the general perſpicuity of the following pamphlet. I, therefore, determined not to omit any circumſtances that may tend to throw the ſmalleſt light upon the origin and progreſs of a conteſt which Mr.

Mr. Curtis has lately puſhed to an extreme degree of hoſtility, and in which he has eagerly ſtolen a march, with the hope, it ſhould ſeem, of ultimately ſecuring a victory.

After telling, of his own accord, and for his own ends, a part of the ſtory, Mr. Curtis will excuſe me for endeavouring to tell the whole, and he may be aſſured, that about ſuch a controverſy, and ſuch an opponent, I ſhall not hereafter * condeſcend to give myſelf any farther trouble.

Hatton, S. PARR.
Jan. 9, 1792.

* Knowing "how fierce the war, when Curtis draws "the ſword," (dulneſs, volui dicere, ſed ſemper hic erro. Vide Orat. pro Cælio.) I ſhall in one epigram ſubjoined to this one note, include my whole anſwer to all that Mr. Curtis may remember or imagine, affirm or deny, print or cauſe to be printed, circulate or ſuffer to be republiſhed, with or without oaths, with or without witneſſes, with or without auxiliaries, in any place, at any time, and under any form.

Quoth Colly to Pope, tho' in verſe you foreclose,
I'll have the *laſt word*, for by Heav'ns I'll *write proſe*—
Poor Colly! thy reaſoning is none of the ſtrongeſt;
For know, the laſt word, is the word that laſts longeſt.

A SEQUEL,

&c. &c.

PART THE FIRST.

TO aſſiſt the memory of the reader, and to give Mr. Curtis every advantage, for which he can hope from the cloſe compariſon of his own publications with the contents of this Sequel, I ſhall firſt introduce his ſtatement, and, according to the eſtabliſhed rules of criticiſm, I ſhall follow that edition which appeared in the St. James's Chronicle of November 5, becauſe it has a right to be conſidered as *auctior et emendatior*.—This will be ſucceeded by the Anſwer of Mr. Eyre and Dr. Marſh, the reply of Mr. Curtis, and their rejoinder. To theſe will be added ſome further exceptions to Mr. Curtis's ſtatement, which that Reverend Gentleman has my full permiſſion to conſider as an heretical comment upon his own orthodox text.

MR. CURTIS'S STATEMENT.

FOR THE ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE.

IN conſequence of a charge made by Dr. Parr, that the Reverend Mr. Curtis, rector of Solyhull, (brother to Alderman Curtis,) had written two anonymous letters to him, Mr. C., by invitation, met Dr. P. at Dr. Marſh's in Coventry, on Thurſday, September 29, 1791.

After dinner Dr. P. produced a written memorial, ſtating the grounds upon which his ſuſpicions againſt Mr. Curtis, as the author of the ſaid letters, were founded. The Doctor began with an interview he had with Mr. C. at the ſummer aſſizes at Warwick, 1790, in company with the ſheriff, and ſome of his friends: and complained of Mr. Curtis's conduct, in what he then advanced, reſpecting the election for the Univerſity of Cambridge. That ſome time after, he received an anonymous letter, in which he was much abuſed for taking up a controverſy with Dr. Hurd, and in which he is referred to a letter in the St. James's Chronicle. He then ſuſpected Mr. Curtis to be the author; but to confirm him in his ſuſpicion, he had recourſe to two expedients, the one to enquire of Mr. Eyre of Solyhull which newſpaper Mr. Curtis took, and found that he did take the St. James's. That * about this period the Doctor was informed by Dr.

* To Mr. Curtis's enumeration of my expedients, it has been objected, that what he calls two, in reality make three, viz. the enquiry after the newſpaper, the converſation with Dr. Marſh, and the letter ſent from Newmarket. But I am very happy to defend M Curtis's ſkill in *Arithmetic*, though at the expence, I fear, of his credit for perſpicuity of arrangement, and correctneſs of expreſſion. The firſt and the third, as Mr. Curtis juſtly ſays, *were* expedients to which I had recourſe; the ſecond was an accidental converſation, which, however, tended, like thoſe expedients, to confirm my ſuſpicions. But the

Dr. Marſh, that Mr. Curtis had, at the Solyhull bowling-green, introduced Dr. Parr's having dictated a letter from Mr. Dormer, the then ſteward of Warwick races, in conſequence of a quarrel the ſteward and friend of Dr. P. had had with Lord Warwick's party

the miſtake of theſe critical calculators, aroſe probably from Mr. Curtis's uſe of the word *that*, which ſuddenly vaniſhing in ſome places, and as ſuddenly ſtarting up in others, has miſled readers of plain underſtandings who look for plain Engliſh. That Mr. C. ſhould be wholly unacquainted with the nice grammatical properties, and the deep metaphyſical principles, of a conſtruction in the learned languages, which by learned men has been called the *oblique*, is not very ſtrange. But in a gentleman who was educated at the Charter-Houſe ſchool, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, the choice of phraſeology in his printed paper, the order of the component parts of ſingle ſentences, and the terms of connection between one ſentence and another, are to me unaccountable. If Mr. C. ſhould anſwer as, I dare ſay, *he will not*, that many ancient poets, and ſome modern, *e. g.* Milton and Glover, mix the oblique and ſtraight conſtructions, I am prepared to anſwer; firſt, that this mixture conſtitutes a beauty *in them*, which Mr. C. *has not reached*; ſecondly, that it is accompanied *in them* by marks of diſcrimination, which Mr. C. *has not uſed*; thirdly, that Mr. C, when he ſtrays from the oblique, *does not find his way into the ſtraight*; and fourthly, that for the irregularities of his ſtyle on the preſent occaſion, the art of rhetoric, with all its tawdry appendages of tropes and figures, has not yet provided a name. However, to a clergyman ſo orthodox as Mr. C. it may afford ſome conſolation to be told, that a critic ſuſpected of Arianiſm ſeems in one inſtance to have had confuſed or imperfect notions of this conſtruction. See too Latin paſſages, which Clarke has erroneouſly produced as parallel ones, in his note on line 347, and the five following of Illiad the 15th. The lines of Virgil and Horace, quoted by him, do, indeed, introduce perſons ſpeaking, without giving the reader notice, that they are going to ſpeak, and *ſo far* they, *in part*, reſemble Homer in his ſpirit. But they do not reſemble him in the union of the oblique and ſtraight conſtructions, *i. e.* in the tranſition from a part of Hector's words incorporated with the narrative, to a part delivered in the form of a ſpeech. There is, indeed, a fine paſſage, directly parallel, in the 8th Æneid, as any one may ſee by reading from line 287 to line 313; and upon this paſſage Dr. Warton has written a very judicious note, which Mr. C. may conſult, if he will, and underſtand, *if he can*. Thus much, gentle reader, I have ſaid in the way of criticiſm upon two illuſtrious Theologues. The one, an editor of Homer's epic poeſy, and the other, the circulator of his own proſe—The one, an Homoeüſian, and the other an Homoüſian—The one, Dr. Samuel Clarke, the friend of Sir Iſaac Newton; and the other, the Reverend Charles Curtis, brother of Alderman Curtis.

reſpecting the races, &c. The other expedient the Doctor had recourſe to, to confirm him in his ſuſpicion, was to anſwer the letter ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. C. *anonimouſly*, and, for this purpoſe, he requeſted a Cambridge friend to take the letter dictated by Dr. P. and put it into the poſt at Newmarket. This letter Mr. C. received, and in the courſe of a week or ten days after the Doctor's anonymous letter was put into the poſt at Newmarket, the Doctor received another anonymous letter with the London poſt-mark. The letter took up the former ſubject contained in the firſt anonymous letter, and alſo expreſſed ſome abuſive matter reſpecting Dr. P.'s having lived upon a certain perſon, in making a three weeks viſit at Birmingham, and alſo behaving himſelf unſeemly in ſeveral companies at that place.

That at a meeting at the Solyhull bowling-green, in the month of Auguſt laſt, the converſation after ſupper having turned upon the riots at Birmingham, and the loſs Dr. Prieſtley had ſuſtained, particularly his books, papers, &c. Mr. C. had ſaid, if any of Dr. Prieſtley's letters or papers came into his hands, he ſhould think himſelf juſtified in peruſing them; and if, in his opinion, they were of a dangerous tendency*, he ſhould think himſelf bound to ſend them to Government.

That upon theſe ſeveral grounds he had formed his opinion reſpecting Mr. C. and that he very believed M. C. to be the author of the abovementioned anonymous letters to him.

I believe the above ſtatement of Dr. P.'s memorial, as delivered at Dr. Marſh's, to compriſe the ſubſtance of it, as nearly as poſſible, to the beſt of my recollection.

Oct. 3, 1791. RICHARD WILLIAM YATES, Clk.

* My memorial, as will hereafter be ſeen, does not mention the dangerous tendency of Dr. Prieſtley's letters.

I believe,

I believe, that the preceding ſtatement is ſufficiently correct, *as far as it goes*; except in one inſtance, which is, that, inſtead of the words "upon theſe ſeveral grounds he had formed his opinion," "theſe were ſome of the grounds, upon which he had formed his opinion," ſhould be ſubſtituted.

October 3, 1791. JAMES EYRE, Clerk.

Except in the place of the word "*dictated*," the word "*written*" ſhould have been uſed; and I did not underſtand, that Dr. P.'s ſtatement contained the opinion, that, if Dr. Prieſtley's letters "were of a dangerous tendency, he (*i. e.* Mr. C.) ſhould think himſelf bound to ſend them to government:" but that Mr. C. uſed them for the firſt time on the 29th of September, in juſtification of his own conduct: and with the objection as ſtated by Mr. Eyre, I believe this ſtatement, *as far as it goes*, to be correct.

W. MARSH, M. D.

MR. CURTIS'S REPLY * to DR. PARR'S MEMORIAL.

THE memorial Dr. P. has been pleaſed to read to the company, certainly does ſtate grounds, and, I am

* Whatever miſtakes Mr. C. might commit in recollecting and reſtating the ſubſtance of my memorial, he ought to have been more exact in communicating to the reader the words of his own reply. Indeed, there are *veſtiges* of deliberation and effort in this firſt ſentence, and to me it ſhould ſeem that the effects of *both* extend to what is *not* ſaid, as well as to what *is* ſaid, in this re-publication. The conceſſions of Mr. C. about my memorial, and his denial about the anonymous letters, were *more* ſtrong and more comprehenſive at the Coventry interview, than they appear in Mr. C.'s ſtatement. *Here* he does not, and *there* he *did*, admit the force of other circumſtances, beſides that of time,—*here* he does *not*, and *there* he *did*, diſclaim all *knowledge* of the anonymous letters, as well as all concern in them. The objections which I here place in the niche of a note, will hereafter be brought into a fuller point of view. Mr. Curtis, indeed, ſays generally, that I *do* ſtate grounds, but ſhrewdly *declines* ſaying, whether they be *ſtrong* or *weak*.

willing to ſay, ſo far as relates to the time of the receipt of the anonymous letters in queſtion, ſufficient grounds, for him to ſuſpect Mr. C. But I here call God to witneſs, and am willing to take the moſt ſolemn oath, that can be preſcribed, that I never did, directly or indirectly, by myſelf, or by any other perſon, write, or cauſe to be written, the diſgraceful anonymous letters, to which he alludes, and which have now been read.

That, as to the letters in the St. James's, to which the anonymous writer has referred the Doctor, I, at this moment, am totally ignorant of what it ſets forth.

There is one part of the memorial, which ſtates my having ſaid at the Solyhull Green, "that, if Dr. Prieſtley's papers or letters came into my hands, I ſhould think myſelf juſtified in peruſing them; and, if, in my opinion, they were of a dangerous tendency, I ſhould think myſelf bound to ſend them to Government." This, Sir, requires an explanation. It was not meant by me, that, if I found any letter or paper directed for Dr. Prieſtley, that I ſhould read them. No: but, if they came into my hands, that is, if ſent to me, as Rector of Birmingham, (as was the caſe, though not then mentioned,) I then ſhould, and did, think myſelf bound to read them, and ſend them to Government: For two papers of Dr. P.'s actually had been incloſed to me under blank cover, and ſent to me per poſt, and are now, one of them, I believe, in the hands of Mr. Pitt, the other in the hands of a reſpectable gentleman under Government.

I now, Dr. P. again call God to witneſs, that I did not, directly or indirectly, by myſelf, or by any other perſon, write,* or cauſe to be written, the anonymous letters alluded to.—I cannot, therefore, but expect from you, a brother clergyman, an apology; for, in

* *Again*, Mr. Curtis *in print* does not diſclaim *knowing* that the letters were written.

the

the firſt place, ſuſpecting me of writing theſe letters, and alſo for your having written one to me—which I would ſooner have had my right hand cut off, than be the author of.

The anſwer on the part of Dr. P. to Mr. C.'s firſt ſolemn aſſeveration, was, that, notwithſtanding the ſolemn declarations I had made, he believed me to be the author of the letters.

Upon my concluding with the ſame ſolemnity, he ſaid, that he ſhould make no apology; that he heard the aſſertions of Mr. C. with attention, and his ſolemn aſſeverations with awe*; that the denial conveyed in them might be true, but, that he was unconvinced.

I believe

* When I firſt read this pargraph, and compared it with ſome of the preceding ſentences, I was ſurpriſed at the regularity of the ſtructure, the clearneſs of the expreſſion, and the accuracy of the ſtatement. But I have ſince found, that both the matter and the manner were ſupplied by a paper of Mr. Eyre, which will preſently be laid before the reader. Though Mr. Curtis in one of his newſpaper effuſions has been pleaſed to ſneer a little at the ingenuity of Mr. Eyre, he will hardly venture to oppoſe me, when I give that gentleman credit for a conſiderable portion of natural ſagacity, and of claſſical learning. Mr. Curtis, I can aſſure the reader, does not profeſs to be quite ſo good a ſcholar as ſome of his neighbours; but in converſing with Mr. Eyre, he has taken occaſion, after the faſhion of great men who avoid direct egotiſms, to ſay, that the "Rector can write Engliſh, and is no fool." I admit both this affirmations, becauſe I have heard from Mr. Curtis one ſermon, and read two of his private letters, in which the ſtyle certainly was Engliſh, and the matter was certainly not fooliſh. But, independently of theſe proofs, I ſhould believe Mr. Curtis an Engliſh writer and a "No-fool," upon the ſolitary evidence of Mr. Curtis himſelf; and after paying this compliment to his modeſty, to his veracity, to his compoſitions, and to his underſtanding, I crave a little mercy from Mr. Curtis upon the ſcore of my incredulity.

Τὸν οὔτε πρὶν νήπιον,
Νῦν τ' ἐνόρκῳ μέγαν,
Καταιδέσασθαι χρή.

Soph. in Æd. Tyr.

All I have to lament is, that he would not condeſcend to exerciſe his talent of Engliſh-writing in communicating to the public the ſubſtance of my memorial. Perhaps this neglect aroſe from his contempt of a

 pedant,

I believe the above ſtatement of Mr. C.'s anſwer, as delivered at Dr. Marſh's, to compriſe the ſubſtance of it, as nearly as poſſible, to the beſt of my recollection.
Oct. 3, 1791. RICHARD WILLIAM YATES, Clerk.

I believe the preceding ſtatement to be ſufficiently correct, *as far as it goes*, except in theſe two inſtances, viz. that I have no recollection at all of the exception beginning with "ſo far as relates" in the firſt paragraph, nor any diſtinct recollection of the earlier part of the explanation in the third.
Oct. 3, 1791. JAMES EYRE, Clerk.

With the exceptions of the words, from "if in my opinion" to "government," as made in Dr. P.'s memorial, and with the word "believed" (in the ſeventh line of page 7,) being explained, as was done, to mean *ſuſpected*, I do believe this ſtatement of Mr. C.'s reply, *as far as it goes*, to be correct.

W. MARSH, M. D.

DR. PARR —— MR. CURTIS.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE.

SIR,

WHEN, at the particular requeſt of the Rev. Mr. C. (brother of Alderman Curtis) we affixed our ſignatures to a ſtatement, which we have ſeen with great ſurpriſe, in your paper of Saturday, Nov. 5th, we underſtood from Mr. C. himſelf, that he

pedant, like myſelf, attempting to expreſs his thoughts in the Vernacular language; and certain it is, that I am not preſumptuous enough to profeſs the art of writing *ſuch* Engliſh as Mr. Curtis writes, either in his ſtatement, or his letters. My habits of compoſition, I fear, are too fixed to bend, if I ſhould begin to reform my ſtyle upon the model which Mr. Curtis has exhibited,

wiſhed

wiſhed to keep and to uſe it *only* for the private information of his friends, but did not then conceive, that he meant to publiſh it in any form whatever. It has, however, been lately publiſhed in two forms, and in each without our concurrence. Though we have only ſaid in Mr. C.'s ſtatement, that, with ſome exceptions, it was correct, *ſo far as it went:* we muſt now declare our further meaning to have been, that in order to become a fair and complete ſtatement, it ſhould have contained many particulars which were omitted; and, whether our learned friend, Dr. P. be right or not in retaining his ſuſpicions, we are bound to ſay, that he behaved with the greateſt moderation and politeneſs to Mr. C. during the whole of the interview at Coventry.

JAMES EYRE, A. B.
Nov. 8, 1791. WILLIAM MARSH, M. D.

In the St. James's Chronicle of Thurſday Nov. 24, appeared the following letter:

DR. PARR AND MR. CURTIS.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE.

Mr. BALDWIN,

WITHOUT my privity or conſent, a ſtatement of facts between me and the Rev. Dr. Parr, (to the truth* of which the Rev. J. Eyre and Dr. Marſh, by

* The firſt exceptions of theſe gentlemen prove, that Mr. Curtis had not quite ſpoken truth, and their ſubſequent reply to this letter of Mr. Curtis will further prove, that he has not ſpoken the whole truth. In ſtating facts, even my prolixity is more prudent and more fair, than Mr. Curtis's brevity.

——Τὰ μακρὰ τῶν σμικρῶν λόγων
Ἐπίπροσθέν ἐϛι, κ᾽ σαφῆ μᾶλλον κλύειν. *Eurip. in Or.*

But, if that gentleman ſhould *expand* for public uſe what he compreſſed for the private peruſal of his friends, I hope that he will acquire, or *borrow*, a better ſtyle, and, that he will collect, but not *invent*, better

by their ſignatures, bore teſtimony,) has appeared in your paper.

It will be ſufficient, I hope, for me to aſſure you, that copies of theſe facts were printed merely to gratify the curioſity of our acquaintance in the county of Warwick, nor did I ever intend, that they ſhould be made more public. Their appearance, however, in your Chronicle has called forth the rancour of an anonymous writer, who is beneath my notice; and I am ſorry they have alſo induced Mr. E. and Dr. M. to ſend you a letter, which implies, that ſome material part of the converſation at Dr. M.'s houſe was ſuppreſſed. They well know, that it was not my intention to keep back the truth; and I publicly declare, that I am not conſcious of any particulars of conſequence having been omitted. If there had been ſuch an omiſſion, I lament, that theſe Gentlemen did not take notice of it, when they, with my reſpected friend, the Rev. R. W. Yates, aſſiſted in bringing to my recollection the particulars of the interview.

I muſt, Mr. B. leave it to the ingenuity of Mr. E. and Dr. M. to explain how far Dr. P. can be conſidered to have "behaved with the greateſt moderation and politeneſs," when he as much as inſinuated that he

better proofs. Otherwiſe, he may fall under the laſh of a ſatire, which, after the peruſal of what has been written by Mr. Eyre, Dr. Marſh, Mr. Mackintoſh, and myſelf, he may be glad to apply to me.

Friend, in your anſwer I am griev'd
So very much is ſaid;
One half will never be believ'd,
The other never read.

The concurring teſtimonies, in this Sequel, if read, *will be believed*, and by making it *unneceſſary* for Mr. Curtis to be hereafter *read*, they will preſerve him, if he perſiſts in his *inaccuracy*, from the mortification of *not* being believed. *At all events*, Mr. Curtis will do well to look out for a grammatical auxiliary, and, perhaps, with the aſſiſtance of a certain modern Caliban, he may be conducted to ſome friendly Proſpero, who will "endow his purpoſe with words to make it known."

thought

thought me perjured *, and upon no better grounds than thoſe of his own conjecture,

I am, Mr. Baldwin,

Your obedient ſervant,

Birmingham, Nov. 21. CHARLES CURTIS.

REPLY OF Dr. MARSH AND Mr. EYRE.

THE letter, which, upon ſeeing Mr. C.'s ſtatement in the St. James's Chronicle of Nov. 5th, we wrote to Mr. Baldwin the Editor, was ſent from Coventry to London Nov. 8th; it was delivered to the Printer Nov. 9th or 10th, it was, in a very unaccountable and unuſual manner, not inſerted till the 19th, and it was ſucceeded by Mr. C.'s anſwer Nov. 24. From whence it ſhould appear, either, that Mr. C. is better acquainted than we were with the road † to Mr. Baldwin's

* Once for all, I here ſay, that I do not accuſe Mr. Curtis of perjury. I believe that he did not, with his own hand, write the letters, and as to his denial of cauſing them to be written, I would make a diſtinction in his favour, which, perhaps, I ſhould not wiſh to be made in my own. The doctrine of cauſes runs out into a very great extent, and into very intricate variety; for, between remote and proximate cauſes, the chaſm is often ſo wide, or the links are ſo numerous, that agency becomes dim to the imagination, and reſponſibility quite evaneſcent. Hence, in the common intercourſe of life, we find men, without any immediate ſenſe of guilt, practiſing thoſe ſubterfuges, for which Caſuiſtry provides a plauſible *extenuation* and a *gentle* name. Be this as it may, I acquit Mr. Curtis of having expreſsly ſaid in his *printed paper* any thing, that would juſtify me in imputing to him wilful perjury. "As a brother clergyman," I ſhrink at this moment from the ſight of ſuch a tremendous word, juſt as at Coventry I was ſcared at the ſtrong expreſſions which burſt from Mr. Curtis. Yet, I then heard his aſſeverations with awe, and now I have endeavoured to ſpeak of them with delicacy.

† Mr. Baldwin, I am told, has a very worthy couſin, who prints a weekly paper at Birmingham, and is not unfriendly to the cauſe which

win's favour, or that he has ſome friend at no great diſtance from the preſs, to whom he is indebted, perhaps, on more accounts than *one*. We do not, however, think it decorous to perſevere in a newſpaper altercation, and therefore we have inſerted our reply to Mr. C.'s anſwer in the ſequel to his ſtatement; and, though we are convinced, that the contents of this gentleman's anſwer cannot make any impreſſion upon men of ſenſe to our diſadvantage, yet we deem it highly proper to expoſe fully the extreme futility of what we conſider as a ſubterfuge on the part of Mr. C.

Though the ſtatement of facts between the Rev. Dr. P. and Mr. C. *might* appear in the St. James's Chronicle without the privity or conſent of the latter gentleman, we are not, therefore, ſure, that he is now entirely ignorant of the perſon, who ſent it to the Editor for publication; and we have reaſons for believing that perſon to be, (in the language of an anonymous writer, who, in the St. James's Chronicle of Nov. 24, ſtiles himſelf "Veritas,") "not an enemy" of Mr. C. "but a friend."

Whether Mr. C. did or did not intend, that his ſtatement ſhould be made *more* public than it was by circulation in the country, ſtill we have a right to look upon him as reſponſible to ourſelves for the conſequences of his own meaſures in making public *at all* the paper, which, at the time of our ſigning it, we conſidered, and were taught by Mr. C. to conſider, as meant for

which is honoured by the *diſintereſted* approbation, and the *diſtinguiſhed* concurrence, of the Rector of the Old Church, alias St. Martin's. Now, Martin ſeems to have been a kind of Tutelary Saint (Vid. Pennant's London Tour, p. 335.) to the Vintner's Company, and, therefore, I ſuppoſe, is a favourite with a few of Mr. C.'s pariſhioner's, who frequent thoſe places of public reſort, where Loyalty ſometimes deigns to hold converſe with Revelry, and where "moral babble" ſeldom intrudes "againſt the canon laws of their foundation." There are ſome perſons, who "pierce the melting ſoul" with notes of "Anacreon in Heaven," and there may be others, who pour the thundering voice through "many a winding bout" of "Heretics in ——."

the

the private peruſal of thoſe perſons *only*, to whom *he* might have occaſion to ſhew it.

We diſtinguiſh, therefore, between the act of writing that ſtatement, which we authoriſed, *ſo far as it went*, and the act of printing it with our ſignatures, which we did *not* authoriſe *in any degree* whatſoever.

We diſtinguiſh, between Mr. C.'s acquaintance, whoſe curioſity *he* wiſhed to gratify, and *our own* acquaintance, many of whom had no curioſity at all upon the ſubject.———

We diſtinguiſh, between what Mr. C. *ſaid*, when he profeſſed to ſhew the ſtatement only to his private friends, and what he, *without conſulting or informing* us, has ſince *done*, by circulating it in ſeveral large towns, where friends, and ſtrangers, and foes, have equally acceſs to it.———

Hitherto we have not ſaid, even by implication, that material, or even *any* parts, were "*ſuppreſſed*;" but we *have* ſaid, and now do ſay, that many parts neceſſary to a fair and complete ſtatement, were *omitted*.

Whether Mr. C. intended to keep back the truth, or to tell it, we know not, though Mr. C. has taken upon himſelf to ſay, that we "knew well what his intentions were."—

Whether Mr. C. be, or be not, "*conſcious* of having omitted any particulars of conſequence," we know not.———

What thoſe particulars are, which Mr. C. *does* think of conſequence, and what thoſe are, which he does *not* think of conſequence, we know not.——

But we *do* know, and we now ſay explicitly, that particulars, which *we* eſteem of conſequence, are omitted.———

As Mr. C. laments, that we did not take notice of any omiſſion, *we* muſt in our turn lament his want of attention to *the obvious meaning* of our words, when we ſaid, that the ſtatement was *correct ſo far as it went:* and if upon the day of our ſigning it reſpec-

tively, we had been *aware* of Mr. C.'s intention to *publiſh*, we either ſhould have *refuſed* our ſignature, from our diſapprobation of that intention, or, we ſhould have pointed out ſpecifically *all* the omiſſions, with which that ſtatement is *now* chargeable, in the hope, that Mr. C. would have had a ſufficient regard to truth, *not* to ſuppreſs what we might have ſuggeſted.———

In this hope Mr. Eyre actually *did* make a written offer to Mr. C. of ſuch aſſiſtance as Mr. Eyre thought neceſſary to give preciſion to a ſtatement, which, *according to Mr. C.'s words*, Mr. C.'s friends only were to ſee; and of that offer Mr. C. in *many reſpects*, did not avail himſelf, either at the time it was firſt made, or, when the acceptance of it had become *more decent and more requiſite*, in conſequence of Mr. C.'s determination to *publiſh*.———

Dr. Marſh, on the other hand, neither aſſiſted, nor offered to aſſiſt, Mr. C. in *bringing to his recollection* any facts whatever; but he ſigned, *with exceptions and reſtrictions*, thoſe facts, and *thoſe only*, *which Mr. C. himſelf had before recollected*, and had introduced into his written paper.———

In what degree of contempt, or of eſteem, Mr. C. may hold our ingenuity we know not, though, perhaps, it has been leſs exerciſed than his own, in explaining ambiguous actions.

To *that kind* of ingenuity, indeed, which Mr. C. has diſplayed in ſeveral ſtages of this buſineſs, neither of us *has*, or is *ambitious* of having, the ſmalleſt pretenſions. But, at the Coventry interview, we had common ſenſe enough to perceive, and, after that interview, we had common juſtice enough to declare, that Dr. P. behaved with the greateſt moderation and politeneſs, *becauſe* the Doctor did not reſiſt ſome of Mr. C.'s arguments, which we thought unſatisfactory—*becauſe* he did not retort ſome of Mr. Curtis's expreſſions, which we knew to be violent—*becauſe*, inſtead of obliquely "*inſinuating*," that he thought Mr. Curtis "*perjured*," he openly *acknowledged* that he continued

to

to ſuſpect Mr. C.—*becauſe* this acknowledgment was forced from him by Mr. Curtis's *own importunity*—*becauſe* it was made in the moſt inoffenſive terms poſſible —and *becauſe* we conceived it to be founded upon *better* grounds than the mere conjecture of Dr. Parr.

Dec. 9th. J. EYRE,
Dec. 11th. W. MARSH, M. D.

Farther Exceptions of MR. EYRE *to the Statement of* MR. CURTIS.

MR. CURTIS, the 1ſt of October, having applied to me for my opinion of his ſtatement, I gave him the following anſwer:

Of the papers ſubmitted by Mr. Curtis to Mr. Eyre's conſideration, Mr. Eyre thinks that, *as far as they go*, they are *with ſome exceptions*, an accurate ſtatement of what paſſed on Thurſday the 29th, at the houſe of Dr. Marſh. His exceptions to their accuracy he will ſubjoin; and, ſhould Mr. Curtis *deſire* it, will, *alſo*, as far as his recollection ſerves him, ſupply their *deficiencies*. He thinks, that in the ſecond of the anonymous letters received by Dr. P. there is no ſuch word as *ſpunging*, nor any mention of Mr. Brook, and, that the length of the viſit for which the Doctor is abuſed, is ſtated to be three weeks. He is, alſo, of opinion, that the Doctor's queſtion about Mr. Curtis's newſpaper, and Dr. Marſh's information ſhould have been inſerted *immediately after* the words "ſuſpected Mr. Curtis to be the author." He very well recollects, that Mr. C. admitted the ſufficiency * of Dr. P.'s grounds for ſuſpicion: but he has no recollection whatſoever of the "ſo far as relates, &c." which in Mr. Curtis's "Re-

* The acknowledgment which Mr. Eyre thought candid, was, *not* that which Mr. Curtis, in his printed paper, has made on the mere circumſtance of time, but that which he at Coventry made on the *general* force of Dr. P.'s circumſtantial proofs.

ply,"

ply," follows the account of what he thought a candid acknowledgment on the part of Mr. Curtis.

Of the part, which relates to what had previouſly fallen from Mr. C. in reſpect to Dr. Prieſtley's letters, he has no diſtinct idea; and he thinks the laſt paragraph of the ſtatement ſhould ſtand thus: "Dr. P.'s return was nearly in theſe words, and certainly to this effect; that he ſhould make no apology*; that he heard the aſſertion of Mr. C. with attention, and his ſolemn aſſeverations with awe; that his denial conveyed in them might be true, but, that he was unconvinced."

End of Mr. Eyre's paper communicated to Mr. C.

Though *ſome* of theſe exceptions appear in Mr. C.'s printed paper, it is proper to *explain* a few paſſages in the foregoing anſwer. The word *ſpunging*, the name of Mr. Brook, and the indeterminate length of Dr. P.'s viſit, *I found in Mr. C.'s account* of the anonymous letters, and I *corrected*, as above, in my anſwer.

Again, from Mr. C.'s original ſtatement of the information given to Dr. P. by Dr. Marſh, and of the *time* in which Dr. P. enquired about the paper Mr. C. took in, it would appear, and with great *injuſtice* to Dr. P. that the Doctor had written an anonymous anſwer to Mr. C. *before* he was in poſſeſſion of circumſtantial proofs from Dr. Marſh's information, and from Dr. P.'s enquiry about the St. James's Chronicle. I, therefore, corrected this very *material* error in point of time, and very material too, in reſpect to the *progreſs* of Dr. P.'s ſuſpicions and meaſures.——

The foregoing particulars appeared to me to require explanation, though Mr. C. *has* admitted into the printed paper the corrections which I ſuggeſted concerning thoſe particulars. I think it neceſſary, alſo, to obſerve, that Mr. C. did *not* avail himſelf of my *general offer to ſupply deficiencies*. The printed paper

* This ſentence Mr. C. has moſt wiſely adopted, and moſt *faithfully preſerved*.

has

pass over 8 leaves

8. leaves misplaced

November 5th, in which the ſtatement of Mr. C. had been re-printed; and the juncture at which I ſaw it, is ſomewhat remarkable. Not five minutes before that gentleman came into the room, I had been telling Dr. Marſh, that the affair was below my notice, while Mr. C.'s paper was circulated in a neighbourhood, where both of us were known; and where his miſ-repreſentations, whether voluntary, or involuntary, might be oppoſed by the oral teſtimony of the gentlemen who were preſent at the interview. But, when I found Mr. C. blazoning his exploits in a news-paper, which goes probably into every part of the kingdom, contempt was puſhed aſide by indignation; and, though I knew myſelf to be invulnerable to the ſting of ſuch an aſſailant, I felt myſelf annoyed by his loud and continual din.———

Upon comparing the two editions of Mr. C.'s ingenious publication, I met with two various readings, which it would ill become my critical ſagacity to paſs over in ſilence. The words "brother to Alderman Curtis," though inſerted in the St. James's Chronicle, are not to be found in the circulated paper; and upon reading them, I could not help admiring the Chriſtian humility, and fraternal piety of Mr. C., who was content to ſhine with borrowed luſtre. Again, the word, which in the firſt edition of the printed paper, ſtands "anonymouſly," is, in the ſecond edition, ſpelled "anon*i*mouſly;" and, perhaps, for this ſlight variation, we are indebted to the auſpices of a worthy Alderman* and ſenator, who to many

* I have had the honour of ſeeing this gentleman once, and the ſpectacle brought ſome lines into my head, which, probably, never were in *bit*,

Her ample preſence fills up all the place:
A veil of fogs dilates her awful face;
Great in her charms! as when on Shrieves and May'rs
She looks, and breathes herſelf into their airs.

other excellencies adds a moſt amiable ſolicitude for the literary fame of his clerical brother.

Some events which have ariſen in the courſe of our diſpute, and which I need not explain, even for the information of Mr. C. himſelf, render it neceſſary for me to lay before the reader a few more remarks on the late appearance of Mr. C.'s ſtatement in the St. James's Chronicle. In conſequence of the paper which Mr. C. circulated in many parts of this county, I have a right to conſider him as reſponſible for the re-publication; and *from his calmneſs*, (in a letter to Mr. Baldwin, dated Nov. 21,) *about the authority by which that paper was re-publiſhed*, I have a farther right to conclude, that Mr. C. ſecretly approves of a meaſure, which he may not have expreſsly directed to be taken. I hear, indeed, that his mind fluctuates, or, at leaſt, that his language varies, upon this ſubject.—The re-publication is aſcribed ſometimes to perſons known, and ſometimes to perſons unknown.—It has been feebly condemned, and gaily applauded.—It has given riſe to the mention of an enemy, of a friend, and even of a brother. Doubtleſs theſe vague and indefinite expreſſions are extremely convenient to perſons who may know too much of the truth to hazard affirmation; and who, having ſome little apprehenſions of ſome little blame, take care to leave no determinate object upon whom it can be laid. Yet I do not think myſelf very uncandid, when I ſay that theſe tricks of evaſion reſemble that ambiguity of language, which had been uſed about the diſpoſal of my letter ſent to Mr. C. in November 1790.

Having mentioned the ſubject of reſemblance, I ſhall purſue it farther in ſome ſtrictures upon a writer, whoſe explanations, conjectures, warnings, &c. appeared in the ſame paper, and on the ſame day with the airy and contemptuous anſwer of Mr. C. to the plain and temperate letter of Dr. Marſh and Mr. Eyre. The advocate of the "much injured Mr. C." is, perhaps, a man, whoſe friendſhip, like that of Pericles, would

would extend *uſque ad aras*, and, probably, in caſes of difficulty, a little *farther*.—But, though he ſigns himſelf Veritas, I really ſhould conſider him as uſurping a name, to which he has hitherto produced no claim, if I did not remember, that Veritas is a title, like that of Eſq., which any gentleman may at will aſſume, and which, in fact, is aſſumed by many *ſuch-like* gentlemen, who not only ſpeak truth or untruth, but ſpeak them confidently or obſcurely, juſt as it may, at the moment, ſuit their purpoſe.

Let us hear the exordium of Veritas *.—" A friend or an enemy, I find, has thought proper to publiſh in your

* As the letter of Veritas is no leſs a literary curioſity than the paper circulated by Mr. C. I will re-publiſh it.

Dr. PARR and Mr. CURTIS.

To the Printer of the St. J. Chronicle.

Mr. Baldwin,

A friend or an enemy, I find, has thought proper to publiſh in your Chronicle of the 4th of November, the ſubſtance of a charge made by the Rev. Dr. Parr, of the Rev. Mr. Curtis's having written to him two anonymous letters, with Mr. C.'s reply to that charge;—ſince which, a correſpondent of your's, who ſigned himſelf L. L. has, with no ſmall degree of acrimony, publicly called upon Mr. C. to anſwer how he procured a certain letter or paper belonging to Dr. Prieſtley, and by what authority he ſent it to Mr. Pitt.

Mr. C. I conclude, does not think it becoming him to notice an anonymous writer:—In juſtice, however to the much-injured Mr. C. I beg leave to refer L. L. to Mr. C.'s reply to Dr. Parr. He will then find that the paper or letter ſent to Mr. Pitt was actually ſent to Mr. C. under a blank cover by poſt.

You may recollect, Mr. B. that *prior* to the commencement of the riots at Birmingham, a reward of one hundred guineas was offered by a certain few, of which number Mr. C. was one, for the diſcovery of the publiſher, printer, or diſtributor of a certain criminal hand-bill.——The ſame reward was afterwards offered by government—— after that by the Diſſenters, for the diſcovery of the *publiſher*, though not, I believe, the *printer* of the hand-bill.

Now, Mr. B. Mr. Curtis having received by *poſt* a written letter, under a blank cover, he muſt *neceſſarily* have peruſed it. Suppoſe then, Sir, he found that the letter enclоſed to him contained the *ſubſtance* of this hand-bill, was he, or was he not, juſtified in ſending it to Mr. Pitt? It is, perhaps, in Mr. C.'s power, (a power I am convinced he

your Chronicle of the 4th of November, the ſubſtance of a charge made by the Rev. Dr. Parr, of the Rev. Mr. Curtis's having written to him two anonymous letters, with Mr. Curtis's reply to that charge."

The ſimplicity, the ſolemnity, the comprehenſion, (I do not ſay the perſpicuity,) of this ſentence, bring to my mind the ſage and authoritative language of Tireſias, which for the convenience of Mr. C. I will place before him in Francis's tranſlation, a little altered.

O ſon of great Laertes! every thing
Will come to paſs, or not come, as I ſing.

As there was no alternative between coming, and not coming to paſs, in the predictions of Tireſias, ſo, there is no alternative between enemy and friend, in the re-publication of Mr. C.'s ſtatement. But the moſt ſtriking part of the exordium is, the reſemblance it bears to the very words of Mr. C.: for Veritas ſays to Mr. Baldwin, as Mr. C. had before ſaid to ſome of his acquaintance, that it was "a friend or an enemy," who did him this honour, or, if he chuſes to call it ſo, this diſhonour.

The word brother is, indeed, omitted, or, as Mr. C. might ſay, it is ſuppreſſed—but for this omiſſion, or ſuppreſſion, it is not difficult to account. A brother, I am ſure, and eſpecially ſuch a brother, may be very

would very unwillingly exert) to publiſh to the world that part at leaſt of the letter which breathes the *very language* of the hand-bill.—— Let then the *heart* of STONE beware. *This* HACKNEY'D SUBJECT has been found a *diſgraceful one*.

Your obedient, humble ſervant,
VERITAS.

(In the laſt page, among the Acknowledgments to Correſpondents.)

☞ L. L. muſt know that "compariſons are odious." This conſideration alone might be ſufficient for the omiſſion of a letter, which contains, beſides, too many cenſures on government to be admitted with decency. So ſays Mr. Baldwin, and perhaps with juſtice; but to this hour I have not *read* the letter of L. L., nor have I heard *who* he is.

properly

properly included in the name of friend; and though Mr. C. may be prone enough to *drop* the mention of brother, in converſing with his "much reſpected friend" Mr. Yates, it may not be equally decorous upon ſuch an occaſion for Veritas to *drag* that name into a news-paper. The abrupt introduction, therefore, of the words "enemy and friend," and the wary omiſſion of the word "brother," inſtead of claſhing together, form a very ſtrong proof of the writer's addreſs, and at the ſame time aſſiſt the reader in conjecturing, who that writer is.—I do not ſay, that Mr. C.'s brother re publiſhed the ſtatement.—I do not ſay, that Mr. C. himſelf wrote the letter ſigned Veritas.—No!—but I do ſay, that he the writer who he will, the language of Veritas about the re-publiſher "breathes," according to his own expreſſion, the language of Mr. C.

From the letter of Veritas it appears, that, "prior to the commencement of the riots at Birmingham, a reward of 100 guineas was offered by a certain few, for the diſcovery of the publiſher, printer, or diſtributor of a certain criminal hand-bill;" and it alſo appears, that, of theſe ſelect few, "Mr. Curtis was one." Now, a man's acts of generoſity, it may be ſaid, in pecuniary matters, are moſt known, and indeed moſt *fit* to be known, by himſelf; and, therefore, till Mr. C. ſhall with his name ſubſtantiate the aſſertion of Veritas, ſome ill-natured people may have their reaſons for doubting this noble exertion in the cauſe of the public. Fortunately, however, for myſelf, I am not in the number of thoſe doubters. For, if Mr. C. bore his part in ſo large a ſubſcription for ſo good a purpoſe, I ſee no reaſon why he ſhould be aſhamed of having ſubſcribed; neither do I ſee any great *probability*, that he would conceal that, of which he was not aſhamed. What, therefore, many other people might know from the mouth of Mr. C., Veritas alſo may know; and what Veritas knows, he may tell in the news-

paper, juſt as eaſily, juſt as meritoriouſly, and juſt as ſafely, as what he knows *not*.——

Again, Veritas ſays, that the letter incloſed to Mr. C. contained the "ſubſtance of the ſeditious hand-bill."—But this probably he would not ſay, unleſs he has been graciouſly favoured by Mr. C. with a ſight of the letter before it was forwarded to government; or, with a ſight of a copy, which, if I can underſtand, or may believe Veritas, Mr. C. ſeems to have taken, in order to amuſe his *curioſity*, in reading again and again the ſeditious letter, after having diſcharged his *duty* in tranſmitting it to the miniſter.—

But though Veritas brings this heavy charge, I, unfortunately, upon a fact of ſuch importance, *ſhall* be in the liſt of doubters, till it is authenticated by the name of Mr. C. himſelf. Nay, if Mr. C. ſhould thus endeavour to authenticate it, I, without any intention of impeaching his veracity, ſhall continue to doubt; becauſe, after the ſpecimen which Mr. C. has given of his ability to convey from memory the ſubſtance of my ſtatement, I cannot implicitly ſubmit to the deciſions of his judgment upon the ſubſtance of the letter. The ſcruples, indeed, of all honeſt Engliſhmen would be removed, if the copy kept by Mr. C. were firſt compared with the originals forwarded to government, and then compared with the execrable hand-bill itſelf. But the tender mercies of Mr. C. give us little reaſon to expect an opportunity of making ſuch a compariſon; for Veritas tells Mr. Baldwin, that "it is perhaps in Mr. C.'s power, (a power Veritas is convinced Mr. C. would very unwillingly exert,) to publiſh to the world that part * at leaſt of

* From this *reſtriction* one may be inclined to think, that the letter written to Dr. Prieſtley, may contain ſome private and confidential matter, which is not ſeditious; and if it does, I muſt pity Dr. Prieſtley, for having the innocent, and it may be, very important communications of his friends, expoſed to his enemies. Who would not tremble at being deprived of the letters ſent him by private correſpondents, whether they be friends, or enemies, or brothers?

the

the letter, which breathes the very language of the hand-bill." While, however, the matter reſts only upon the authority of Veritas, and upon the opinion of Mr. Curtis, men, who have "not hearts of ſtone *," will beware about believing the tragical deſcription, which has been publiſhed in the St. James's Chronicle.

As Mr. C. in his anſwer to my ſtatement, ſeemed to have a quick and clear perception upon the circumſtance of *time*, I ſhall remind him, that the ſame circumſtance deſerves a little attention in the coincidence of date, between himſelf and Veritas.—*In the ſame news-paper, and on the ſame day*, Mr. C. and Veritas mention the ſame anonymous writer. They both hold the ſame language, on his "being below the notice of Mr. C." The one charges him with rancour, and the other endeavours to eſtabliſh the charge.——To me, however, it appears ſtrange, that a charge of ſedition ſhould be introduced in the public papers by an anonymous writer, when it might, with equal propriety, and with greater effect, have proceeded from Mr. C. himſelf. His juſtice, ſurely, as well as his candour, required him to bring forward ſo *weighty* an accuſation in his own perſon. Other men, beſides the anonymous writer L. L. may be anxious to know the contents of the letter ſent to government; and as they originally diſcovered this fact from Mr. C.'s own printed paper, they properly have looked for an explanation of it in Mr. C.'s printed letter to Mr. Baldwin.—But Mr. C. I find, upon this occaſion, if not upon others, has followed the example of a celebrated poet, whoſe conduct has been moſt ſagaciouſly inveſtigated, and moſt clearly delineated by one of Mr. C.'s pariſhioners, in his admirable correſpondence with the very accompliſhed and ingenious Miſs Seward. Mr. C. does not "incite,"

* "Let the heart of ſtone beware," are the words of Veritas.--

"he does not inſtigate," perhaps, he does not "aſſiſt," —but he certainly "*ſuffers* *" others to do, what would be unbecoming, or unſafe, if done by himſelf.

That Mr. Pope ſuffered his own contemporaries and panegyriſts, to defame the memory of Dryden, not by failing to prevent, but by failing to repel, thoſe attacks, was the diſtinction moſt clearly ſtated, and moſt ably defended by Mr. Weſton himſelf, and by his antagoniſts either ſtrangely overlooked, or groſsly miſrepreſented. Thus Mr. C. had the honour of imitating Mr. Pope. With an ear that catches the moſt diſtant ſound of war, and with a hand uplifted, to chaſtiſe alike the preſumption of foes, and the neutrality of friends, he ſpares, and in no very *placid* moment he ſpares, the re-publiſher of his ſtatement. Over the anonymous calumniator L. L. he ſtrides with triumphant contempt. Upon Mr. Eyre and Dr. Marſh he lets looſe his wit. Againſt me he points his anger; and Mr. Yates he decks out with his praiſe; but of the re-publication he ſays *coolly*, that it was "without his privity or conſent." He ſays ſo, when writing to the ſame Mr. Baldwin, in whoſe paper the re-publication appears. He ſays ſo, when endeavouring to ſhelter himſelf from the conſequences of that re-publication. He ſays ſo, at the very inſtant when he is preparing to tell Mr. Baldwin, the whole extent of his original deſign in printing the ſtatement; and when he would have been juſtified in ſome expreſſion of ſeverity to the perſon who cauſed it to be re-printed. When, therefore, I conſider the emphatical language, not of diſapprobation only, but even of diſpleaſure, which Mr. C. has uſually employed in this diſpute, I will not haſtily commend him for *deviating* into moderation towards a man, whom I ſhould have repreſented as a malevolent enemy, or as an officious friend. Mr. C. however, may have *reaſons* for this

* Vide Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. page 139.

lenity,

lenity, which it were equally imprudent for him to ſlight, or to reveal. The action, it ſeems, was without his privity or conſent. But the *agent* may by this time be known. And Mr. C. I perceive, does not ſtrengthen his own cauſe, by "as much as inſinuating, even upon as little ground as conjecture," that he is *unknown*. But ſuch an omiſſion, upon ſuch an occaſion, is very remarkable in a gentleman, who prizes ſo highly, and ſeizes ſo eagerly, all the advantages of *denial*, where he *can* deny. Secure from complete detection, or "armed," like Brutus, "with honeſty," Mr. C. I know, will caſt a diſdainful ſmile upon theſe obſervations. He has often heard, that where learning is, there good ſenſe is not. He has an intereſt in believing, that where learning is not, there good ſenſe is; and, therefore, I ſuppoſe, that he thinks of me ſecretly, what his Cambridge advocate ſays to me unreſervedly, that "I am no logician." Theſe words have, indeed, one meaning, to which I plead guilty. Small is the ſhare of my ſkill in quibbles, in quirks, in mental reſervations; all of which, as I once read in Ariſtotle's Analytics, were admitted into the ſcience of logic; and all of which, as I ſee in *writers leſs ancient* than Ariſtotle, are not totally excluded from the practical part.——

Leſt Mr. C. ſhould be diſpleaſed with me, for ſuppoſing the letter forwarded to government not *quite* ſo ſeditious as the hand-bill publiſhed at Birmingham, I will aſſign my reaſons for theſe ſcruples, as I have aſſigned them for others, though without much hope of enabling Mr. C. to underſtand, or of perſuading him to confeſs.

When one man has a little prejudice againſt another, ſuſpicion is very buſy in coining reſemblances. Thus I myſelf was once weak enough to think, that the ſtile of my anonymous London correſpondent, "if ſtile it might be called, which ſtile had none," faintly reſembled the *free and eaſy converſation* of a perſon, whom I think it improper to name, becauſe he may

not

not always think it proper to name *himſelf*.—But I was miſtaken ſurely.

Thus again, I have heard it ſuppoſed by perſons in the neighbourhood of Solyhull, that ſome peculiarities in the language of Veritas, ſtrongly reſemble the letter ſigned by Mr. C. in the very ſame newspaper.—But they too are, perhaps, miſtaken.

A great critic *, whom my anonymous Birmingham correſpondent defends, though utterly ignorant of his writings, has proved, very clearly, that "reſemblance does not always imply imitation." Much leſs, I will add, does it in all caſes prove identity; and to this obſervation, though it proceeds from me, Mr. C. would do well to aſſent, becauſe, in the courſe of theſe animadverſions upon Veritas, he may find himſelf intereſted in the juſtneſs of it. But the draw-back unhappily lies here; for the ſame † critic tells us, "that the original expreſſion is ſometimes not taken, but paraphraſed, and the writer diſguiſes himſelf in a kind of circumlocution. Yet," ſays he, "this artifice does not conceal him, eſpecially if ſome fragments of the inventor's phraſe are found diſperſedly in the imitation." I leave the application of the latter part of this critical canon to thoſe perſons who may be diſpoſed to contraſt what Mr. C. has ſaid, with what Veritas has written, upon the topick of re-publication.———

The critic above-quoted informs us, that "a ſeeming quaintneſs and obſcurity of expreſſion frequently indicates imitation." Now Veritas cloſes his letter with deſiring ſome perſon, whoſe name is alluded to darkly, to beware of a *backneyed* ſubject; and in order to make the wit and the ſatyr of this quaint and obſcure expreſſion more pointed, it is printed, I hear, in a different type. But the alluſion is, I believe, directed

* See Biſhop Hurd's maſterly diſcourſe on poetical imitation.

† See the acute and moſt profound letter, on the marks of imitation, addreſſed by the ſame prelate to Mr. Maſon.

againſt

againſt a very accompliſhed gentleman of the name of Stone, who lives at Hackney; and who has the great *demerit*, not only of ſtudying and obeying the laws of his country, but of having prevented ſome of Mr. C.'s pariſhioners from violating them, when a houſe at Haleſowen was threatened with conflagration. Perhaps, Veritas claſſes this ſpirited and ſucceſsful reſiſtance to Birmingham rioters, among the "*diſgraceful*" parts of the "hackneyed ſubject."—But Mr. C. I would charitably hope, does not.

Upon the whole, then, though the writer of the letter, ſigned Veritas, be *not* Mr. C. it probably is a perſon who may now and then be favoured by Mr. C. with uſeful and confidential *hints*. But, if it *be* Mr. C., certainly he has no claim to the title of Veritas. How ſo? Becauſe, Veritas, who *does* notice and does endeavour to confute and diſgrace and terrify the unfortunate, but unknown L. L. ſays, "that Mr. C. does *not* think it becoming *him* to notice an anonymous writer." Here, indeed, Veritas may interpoſe, and hew down my inference with a diſtinction. "I do not affirm, he may exclaim, but I only *conclude*," that Mr. C. does not think it," &c.—Upon this diſtinction, I ſhould make no other obſervation, than that it is perfectly of a piece with ſome other ingenious ſophiſtry, and ſome other *healing caſuiſtry*, which I have occaſionally heard, during my diſpute with Mr. C.

After the variance ſubſiſting between Mr C. and two of his *witneſſes* to the ſtatement, we ſhall be preſented with a ſcene of "confuſion worſe confounded," if he ſhould be at variance with his *advocate* Veritas; and, ſurely, if it is poſſible for a man to differ from himſelf that he may be ſheltered from the conſequence of his own words, it is equally poſſible, that for the ſame cauſe, the advocate may differ from his client.—But if Veritas ſhould begin to recede from his poſition, that Mr. C. will not take notice of an anonymous writer, Mr. C. I am ſure, would become indignant at his tergiverſation, wheel about to cut off

his

his retreat, and exclaim triumphantly, "Veritas, if you, by your diſtinctions, dare to concede, that I *may* take notice of anonymous writers, remember, Sir, that I have told my much-reſpected friend Mr. Baldwin, that the rancorous calumniator is beneath my notice."—Such, I *conclude*, would be the lofty and diſdainful language of Mr. C. about an anonymous writer, in the *news-paper*.—But when gentry of this claſs addreſs *me privately*, I ſometimes take a *little more* notice of them, than *Mr. C. profeſſes* to take of Mr. Baldwin's anonymous correſpondent L. L.——

On Sunday the 13th of November, I received an anonymous letter with a poſt mark from Cambridge. —It, probably, was dated and ſent from that place in *imitation* of a letter, which, by my direction, had been forwarded from Newmarket to Mr. C.—But, from the clumſineſs of the reaſoning, the incorrectneſs of the language, and the groſſneſs of the abuſe, it evidently was not written by any member of the univerſity. I ſhould rather aſcribe this curious effuſion of folly and impertinence to ſome illiterate elector of Alderman Curtis, than to any learned elector of Mr. Chancellor Pitt.—There are ſome internal marks, too, from which others, as well as myſelf, have been induced to think, that the ſcribe was *not* the author. ——Be this as it may, he certainly is a *warm admirer* of Mr. C. and, as certainly, he is below my contempt. I ſhould not, indeed, have vouchſafed to mention his letter, if I had not been unwilling to bereave Mr. C. of the conſolation he will find upon knowing that he has *anonymous advocates* to ſupport him againſt the ſuſpicion of having *written anonymous letters*.

Nov. the 15th I had occaſion to write the following letter to Mr. C.

Rev. Sir,

I have this day been informed by a letter from Birmingham, that on Sunday laſt, you, "in a moſt in-

flammatory ſermon, introduced the ſubject of our diſpute at Coventry." If you can diſprove the truth of this intelligence, as I hope you can, I ſhall congratulate you and myſelf.—If you do not, I muſt lament that the late dreadful riots have not taught you more caution; and I muſt further ſay, that the mention, or even the mere ſuggeſtion of my name, *in ſuch a place, at ſuch a time, and upon ſuch a ſubject*, has a direct and viſible tendency to expoſe my houſe, my property, and perhaps my life, to the fury of a mob. I am, Rev. Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

S. PARR.

This letter was written, and read by me to Dr. Marſh, and another gentleman, on the 15th, but I could not ſend it to the poſt till the 16th, and I believe it is, by miſtake, dated on the day I ſent it. On the 21ſt I received the following anſwer.

Received *Nov.* 21,—91.

Rev. Sir,

You have once doubted my veracity—it therefore appears to me extraordinary, that you ſhould put the queſtion, contained in your letter of the 16th.

Before I can comply with your requeſt, I ſhall beg leave to move the previous queſtion, whether you will give me the *name* of the perſon who has correſponded with you on the ſubject of my ſermon.

I am,

Your humble ſervant,

CHARLES CURTIS.

Birmingham, Nov. 19, 1791.

The Rev. Dr. Parr.

On the 22d I wrote as follows:

Rev. Sir,

It does *not* appear extraordinary to me, that *you* ſhould "move a previous queſtion," where I ſhould have given a direct and explicit anſwer, though unaccompanied by an oath.

Give me leave, however, to obſerve, that in private as well as public life, previous queſtions may be moved by thoſe perſons who are unwilling to encounter the diſcuſſion of *other* queſtions.——

If the fact about which I lately wrote to you, had been communicated to me by a weak, or by an officious man, I ſhould have doubted it.—If it had come to my knowledge merely by common report, I might have diſregarded it.—But I now tell you, that I was informed of it by a gentleman, whoſe judgement and whoſe veracity I ſhould think it preſumptuous to diſpute, and whoſe name I will not give up to your curioſity, or to the *notions* you may hold about my duty as a gentleman.

You would be better employed, Sir, in confuting the intelligence, than in enquiring after its author.

Upon a ſubject ſo remote from the common topics of religious inſtruction as the Coventry buſineſs, it would have been eaſy for me, without an application to yourſelf, to know whether mention of it was, or was not, made by you in the pulpit—But I thought it *more* proper to give *you* an opportunity of diſproving the information, if it were erroneous, or of confirming it, if it were true; and, becauſe this proceeding of mine ſeems to give you ſome ſurprize, I take it for granted, that *you* would have been leſs delicate, or leſs cautious, if, being an intereſted party, you had received the ſame information concerning another man.

Whatever doubts I have entertained formerly, or may now entertain, as to the anonymous letters, I certainly was not betrayed into an *exceſs* of compliment

ment to your veracity, when abſtaining from the uſe of the word *deny*, I called upon you to "diſprove;" and this diſtinction, Sir, I pointed out to two gentlemen of your acquaintance, in whoſe preſence I read my letter to you, before it was ſent.

Permit me, however, to aſſure you, that I ſhould have paid great attention to your meer denial, *becauſe*, upon a fact of this kind, there was eaſier acceſs to truth, than upon the ſubject of the anonymous letters; and, therefore, I ſhould not have thought you diſpoſed to *hazard* an anſwer, which ſo many of your hearers might be able to confute. If you had denied the fact, I ſhould have informed my friend of your denial; and if he had perſiſted in maintaining the fact, I ſhould have looked for farther evidence, where farther evidence was to be found.—But in ſo doing, I ſhould have meant no affront either to you, or to him.

The buſineſs now lies in a very ſhort compaſs. Did you, or did you not, on Sunday Nov. 13, introduce the ſubject of our Coventry interview in your pulpit at St. Martin's?

This, Sir, is a plain, and to me a very intereſting, queſtion.—You know my reaſons for putting it, and I know my own right to have it anſwered.

If you decline ſending me any anſwer to this letter, or ſend me an evaſive one, I can be at no loſs to determine, either what I am to believe, or what I am to do. I am, Rev. Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

S. PARR.

Nov. 2d.

On the 26th I was favoured with an anſwer from Mr. Curtis.

Rev. Sir,

The plain and intereſting queſtion contained in your letter of the 22d, I certainly muſt decline anſwering, as you are not pleaſed to comply with my requeſt

requeſt of favouring me with the name of your correſpondent.

Allow me, Sir, to ſay you are bound to give up his name. This being done, I ſhall *willingly* ſatisfy you, and am Your humble ſervant,

CHARLES CURTIS.

Nov. 24th. 1791.

The Rev. Dr. Parr.

Soon after the arrival of the foregoing letter, I ſaw Mr. Yates, and wrote, as follows, to Mr. Curtis.

Rev. Sir,

On Thurſday, Dec. 1ſt. Mr. Yates was ſo good as to call upon me, and to ſay, that you had put into his hands a ſermon, which you *repreſented* as being *that* ſermon about which I had written to you: that having preached it ſome time ago at Solyhull, you had inſerted a page or two relating to the ſtate of parties at Birmingham, before you delivered it there; and that, on peruſing it, he found no paſſage which alluded to the Coventry interview. Upon the authority of Mr. *Yates's word*, I, therefore, believe the fact to be ſo, and, becauſe it is ſo, I rejoice both upon your account and my own.

As to the gentleman whoſe name you weakly ſuppoſe, and boldly pronounce, me "bound to give up," I certainly, Sir, ſhall not make him known to you in any other manner, than by the following deſcription.

He is not one of Mr. Curtis's hearers, nor, I believe, one of Mr. Curtis's pariſhioners—He is a gentleman by birth, by education, and in principle—He has too much ſagacity to be implicitly guided by your opinions, and too much firmneſs to ſurrender his own to the *reproaches* * of any man living—He is a philoſopher without ſcepticiſm, and a ſcholar without pedan-

* Mr. C., I preſume, underſtands this alluſion to the haſty uſe of the word raſcal.

try

See Heaviside back

has *appeared with* thoſe deficiencies; and as the matter has been brought before the public by Mr. C. it is my duty to point them out.

Firſt, He omits his own uſe of the words, *blackguard* and *raſcal.*

Secondly, He omits his own *confuſed way* of accounting for the method in which he had diſpoſed of the anonymous letter, which Dr. P. had both ſent, and *avowed* having ſent to him.

Thirdly, He omits Dr. P.'s very fair offer of furniſhing him with a *copy* of that letter.

Fourthly, He omits the general *conſent* of the company, that the letter ſent from Newmarket by Dr. P. was under all the circumſtances not diſhonorable.

Fifthly, He omits the words ſpoken *by himſelf*, which induced Dr. P. to declare, that "he continued to ſuſpect Mr. Curtis," and he alſo does not accurately ſpecify the time, at which that declaration was made.

Sixthly, He omits ſome articles, contained in the written account, which Dr. P. when at Coventry, read, of the converſation which paſſed at Solyhull about Dr. Prieſtley's letters.

Seventhly, He omits *much* of the internal evidence, which Dr. P. found in the anonymous letters, and which, from Dr. P.'s ſtatement, appeared to have great weight in confirming his ſuſpicions.

Nov. 15. JAMES EYRE.

Farther Exceptions to Mr. CURTIS's *Statement, by* Dr. MARSH.

IN my firſt exception to Mr. C.'s narrative, I ſaid, that, inſtead of the word *dictated*, the word *written* ſhould have been uſed. But as the word *dictated* occurs *twice* in the ſame paragraph of Mr. Curtis's publication, it is proper for me to ſtate, that I ſubſtituted the word *written, not* in reference to the letter which Dr. P. dictated to be ſent to Mr. C., but in reference

to the letter, which was ſent to the Mayor of Warwick, by the Hon. Mr. Dormer.

I muſt alſo add, that Dr. P. was right, when he repreſented me, as having told him, that the words of Mr. C. were *written with his own* (i. e. Dr. P.'s) *hand*, and I now ſay, that Mr. C. *did* uſe thoſe very words to me at Solyhull.

During the converſation at Coventry, I was *ſurpriſed* to hear Mr. C. ſay, that he "*could not find* the anonymous letter Dr. P. had ſent him; *or*, that he had *given it to ſome friend, who was out of the country.*" *For*, Mr. C. had told *me*, on the very day I firſt propoſed the meeting, that *this very letter had been thrown by himſelf* into the fire; or, applied to that uſe, to which he always applies ſuch papers. I *recollected* this fact, during the converſation at Coventry, but I would not mention it *there*, leſt it ſhould bring on altercation.

Mr. C. gave me no intimation of his deſign to publiſh, when he aſked for my ſignature. I could not expect, that he would puſh into the world ſo *imperfect a ſtatement*; and when I ſent my ſignature to him, he expreſsly aſſured me, that he "intended it ſolely for the purpoſe of ſhewing it to his private friends, who might think it neceſſary to enquire into what had paſſed." When Mr. C. circulated his printed paper, he ſent *no copy* to me, nor to Mr. Eyre, though he had ſent *ſeveral copies* to Coventry and Solyhull, at which places we reſpectively reſide.

Upon reading Mr. C.'s ſtatement, after publication, I find the following material imperfections:

Firſt, He omits his own *obſcure way* of accounting for the diſpoſal of the anonymous letter, which he had received.

Secondly, He paſſes over Dr. P.'s obliging offer, to furniſh him with a copy of that letter.

Thirdly, He paſſes over the unanimous opinion of the company, that Dr. P.'s anonymous letter, under all the different circumſtances in which it was written, had none of the criminal properties of anonymous letters.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, He paſſes over *his own* requiſition, to know Dr. P.'s opinion upon Mr. C.'s anſwer, made after his own *ſecond* aſſeveration, in conſequence of which requiſition, Dr. P. ſaid, that he continued to ſuſpect Mr. C.

Fifthly, He paſſes over the ſtrong arguments, which Dr. P. founded upon the contents of the ſecond anonymous letter.

Sixthly, He paſſes over the *vehement* words, which he himſelf ſometimes uſed; and, *at the ſame time*, takes no notice of the polite deportment and temperate language, which Dr. P. preſerved, during the whole interview at Coventry.

Seventhly, He has given an imperfect account of the facts mentioned in Dr. P.'s ſtatement, about his ſuſpicions.

Nov. 16, 1791. W. MARSH.

The Exceptions of M. MACKINTOSH *to* Mr. CURTIS's *Statement.*

THE manner in which the converſation at Coventry was ſtated by Dr. Parr, appeared to me ample and correct. It was drawn up the morning after the interview; a precaution which has *ſince* proved very neceſſary. It was written at Dr. P.'s requeſt, by myſelf, chiefly from his recollection, and now and then from my own. In the afternoon it was read to Dr. Marſh, and to Mr. Eyre, who approved of it, and by whoſe information it was ſomewhat enlarged, and, in one place, corrected. Though the unqualified aſſent of Mr. Yates to the ſtatement of Mr. C. was doubtleſs very ſincere; yet, if his aſſent had been given to Dr. P.'s ſtatement, at Dr. P.'s houſe, *ſo ſoon* after the interview, and in the *preſence* of three other witneſſes, it would, I conceive, have been equally ſincere, and muſt have been *more forcible*.

I have a right to aſſert, that few narratives have higher claims to authenticity, from the recent recollection, and the conſpiring teſtimony of diſintereſted

 evidences,

evidences, than that ſtatement of the interview at Coventry, in which I concurred with Dr. P.———

Mr. C's narrative, on the other hand, appears to me unfaithful, both from omiſſion and miſ-ſtatement.—Reſpecting the original ground of Dr. P.'s ſuſpicion, Mr. C. has omitted to ſtate, that he confeſſed the ſtrength, *not merely* of the circumſtance of time, but of *various other preſumptions, from various other circumſtances*, inſomuch, that he declared, that, with ſimilar circumſtances before him, he ſhould himſelf have entertained ſimilar ſuſpicions.

Reſpecting the extent of Mr. C.'s denial, I perceive, that he does *not* ſay, in his printed ſtatement, what he *did* ſay at Coventry, about his not even *knowing*, that the anonymous letters were written, till he heard of Dr. P.'s ſuſpicions.

Reſpecting the collateral preſumption ariſing from Mr. C.'s conduct in the caſe of Dr. Prieſtley's letters, I obſerve—that Mr. C. has omitted to diſtinguiſh, between the *intention to read* Dr. Prieſtley's letters, with which *alone* Mr. C. was charged in Dr. P.'s memorial, and the *ſuppoſed duty* of ſending them to government, if their tendency was dangerous; and I add, that the ſubject of *duty* was ſtarted by Mr. C. *himſelf* at Coventry, that it was urged there in *his own juſtification*, and could have no force, in defeating Dr. P.'s objections, which are pointed againſt Mr. C.'s *curioſity only*, and were, indeed, ſtated by Dr. P. before this pretended *duty* was at all brought forward by Mr. C.

I further obſerve, that Mr. C. neither *diſclaimed* the words, which Dr. P. imputed to him, about his *curioſity*, nor *diſavowed* at Coventry his intention of acting from that curioſity, *though* ſuch intention was the topick upon which he *ought* to have ſpoken, if he meant to deprive Dr. P.'s ſuſpicions of this collateral ſupport.

In reſpect to the anonymous letter ſent to Mr. C. by Dr. P., Mr. C. has made the moſt important omiſſions.

omiſſions. He has omitted to ſay, that Dr. P. *on the very day* of firſt expreſſing his ſuſpicions, ſpontaneouſly and honourably avowed that letter—he has omitted, that Dr. P. at Coventry offered him a copy of that letter—he has omitted, that the verdict of the company acquitted that letter of the baſe properties of anonymous attack.

Theſe omiſſions, combined with the language of *horror*, with which Mr. C. *affects* to regard the letter in queſtion, appeared to me, calculated to produce the moſt unjuſt impreſſions, both as to the contents of the letter, and as to the ſentiments of the company.

Mr. C. has alſo omitted, *for reaſons beſt known to himſelf*, all mention of *my* name, though at the requeſt of Dr. P. and, with the permiſſion of my old and worthy acquaintance, Dr. Marſh, I was preſent at the interview.

He has omitted to ſtate, nay, he has not even noticed, the long argument which paſſed between him and myſelf; and, during which, many things dropped from Mr. C. which muſt become confuſed, and unintelligible, when taken out of their order in the converſation.

He has omitted to ſtate, that in this argumentative converſation Dr. P. took little or no ſhare.

He has omitted to ſtate, that Mr. C.'s *repeated* admiſſion of the collective ſtrength of circumſtances againſt him, and that the diſcuſſion reſpecting Dr. P.'s anonymous letter, and a yet longer diſcuſſion reſpecting the letters of Dr. Prieſtley, formed no unimportant parts of the ſame converſation.

He has omitted to ſtate, that Dr. P. only oppoſed *ſilence* to Mr C.'s *firſt* aſſeveration; and that Dr. P.'s avowal of retaining his ſuſpicions, was *extorted* from him by the ſubſequent *importunity of Mr. C. himſelf.*

He has omitted, that Dr. P. during the whole interview, ſpoke to him very calmly, and behaved to him very politely.

Finally, He has choſen to omit that language or *ambiguous violence*, which, on the part of Mr. C. filled up ſo much of the converſation, which ſeemed, at firſt, *unwarily hazarded*, which, afterwards, was clamouroufly repeated, then clumſily explained, then repeated again, and then, in conſequence of Dr. P.'s queſtion at the cloſe of the converſation, explained again.

The explanation, which Mr. C. has given, in his ſtatement of his proceedings in the caſe of Dr. Prieſtley, is very defective in perſpicuity * and accuracy, and ſcarcely admits any ſpecific objections. But I muſt remark, upon the *whole* of his ſtatement, that confuſion of dates, and the neglect, or ſuppreſſion, of important facts, may give as wrong an idea of a converſation, as deliberate miſrepreſentation; and I muſt, in general, avow, that Mr. C.'s ſtatement appears to me ſo defective, in particularity of detail,

* Once, and once only, I will triumph over that writer, who grapples with the eloquence of Mr. Burke, and yields to the obſcurity of Mr. C. By long and painful attention, *ſuch*, as the dignity of the ſubject, and the abilities of the writer, required, I have found, as Milton ſays, " my uncouth way through that palpable obſcure," in which the diſcernment of Mr. Mackintoſh was benighted. But for this ſuperiority he will not envy me, when I confeſs, that I am indebted for it to the habit of reading dark polemical divinity, dull verbal criticiſm, and the exerciſes of boys, more dark, if poſſible, and more dull, than either. If I were not accuſtomed to reſpect the acuteneſs, the taſte, and the erudition, of Dr. Berdmore, late maſter of the Charter-houſe School, I ſhould ſuppoſe from the ſtatement of Mr. C. that he had learned the art of compoſition from that teacher, qui diſcipulos obſcurare ea, quæ dicerent, juſſiſſet, Græco verbo utens, σκότισον, unde illa ſcilicet egregia laudatio, " tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi."

Quintilian. lib. 8, cap. 2.

Whenſoever I amuſe myſelf with quoting from a Greek or a Roman author, Mr. C. is never *appealed* to, though he may now and then be *ſorcerned*. But, as he may underſtand Engliſh quotations, I will furniſh him with one which he would be happy to know.

To patch-work learn'd quotations are allied,
Both ſtrive to make our poverty our pride.

clearneſs

clearneſs of expreſſion, and *order of circumſtances*, that in my opinion, it preſents to the reader a moſt imperfect view of the converſation which took place at the Coventry interview.

Without intending to inſult the veracity of Mr. C. I muſt confeſs, that I ſee no reaſon for Dr. P. to abandon his ſuſpicions, either, when I reflect upon the events which *gave riſe to them*, upon the Solyhull converſation about Dr. Prieſtley's letters, which *confirmed* them; upon the Coventry explanation about thoſe letters, which, in my opinion, *tended* to confirm them *more*; or upon the *ſubſequent conduct* of Mr. C. in obtaining ſignatures, for the uſe of his private friends; in printing them, without the knowledge of the perſons who ſigned; and, in publiſhing, without Mr. Eyre's further aſſiſtance, a ſtatement, which from Mr. Eyre's letter, Mr. C. ſhould have believed *to be deficient*.

I find, that Dr. P.'s ſtatement about his ſuſpicions, now to be publiſhed, exactly agrees with that which he read at Coventry; and I alſo find, that the narrative of the Coventry interview, which is now to be publiſhed, exactly agrees with that which I read and approved at Hatton.

JAMES MACKINTOSH.

Charlotte-ſtreet, Portland-place, London, Dec. 7th, 1791.

PART THE SECOND.

IF the credibility of Mr. Curtis's ſtatement is already ſhaken by the battering rams of exception employed by three important witneſſes, I fear that he will be left without ſhelter, and without hope, when the facts which I keep in reſerve for the third part of this pamphlet, ſhall be brought forward in regular array, and planted againſt the tottering citadel, in which he has ventured to hang out his flag of defiance. In the mean time, the merits and demerits of the contending parties will be more clearly underſtood, by a detail of the meaſures which they have reſpectively taken before the interview, and after it; and if, in the courſe of that detail, I ſhould find occaſion to enter upon certain ſubjects, which the publication of Mr. C.'s ſtatement may have brought into notice, the importance of thoſe ſubjects will, I think, juſtify that minuteneſs of diſcuſſion, and that fulneſs of explanation, which I have been induced to employ upon them.

On the 1ſt of September I was favoured with the company of ſome gentlemen from the neighbourhood of Solyhull, and, after dinner, I told them, not in the form of a *direct charge*, but of a very ſtrong ſuſpicion, that I had received from Mr. C. two anonymous letters. At the ſame time, I ſtated my reaſons, which from the long and ſerious attention I had paid to the ſubject, were freſh enough in my memory for the purpoſes of correct converſation.

I explicitly avowed the letter, which I had myſelf ſent to him, without my name; and I pointed out the effects, which, in my opinion, it had produced in provoking the ſuppoſed author of the firſt letter to write a ſecond. Silence I did not require from any

of

of the hearers: on the contrary, I thought, that by ſome channel or other, my words would ſoon be carried to Mr. C.; and I had the happineſs to know, that all my viſitors appeared to hear the ſtory attentively, and were all incapable of repreſenting it unfaithfully.

Here the matter reſted with me, till the Wedneſday ſe'nnight before Michaelmas-day, when I received from Dr. Marſh a letter informing me, that Mr. C. diſclaimed all concern in the anonymous letters, and inviting me to meet him, together with Mr. Eyre and Mr. Yates, at Dr. Marſh's houſe, on the 29th of September. I imagined, that this interview was originally propoſed by Dr. Marſh, and had already been approved by Mr. C.—I thought it unmanly, to decline meeting Mr. C. and unjuſt, to refuſe him a ſight of the proofs which had led me not only to entertain, but to expreſs, my ſuſpicions. I did not, however, diſtinctly ſee any great probability, that the interview would terminate in the ſatisfaction of either party.—To circumſtances, without direct proof, Mr. C. was not likely to plead guilty. It was equally unlikely, that I ſhould *entirely* yield to aſſertion, without circumſtances; and of theſe difficulties I, in effect, informed Dr. Marſh in the very letter which ſignified my acceptance of the invitation; and in which I declared to him, that, if my reaſons were to be oppoſed by the bare word of Mr. C., probably the bare word of Mr. C. would have little weight with me.

Great were the apprehenſions which I entertained of Mr. C.'s irritability, great the eſteem which I felt for the good ſenſe and good manners of the other three gentlemen, and great the attention which I thought it becoming me to pay to my own character. Upon all theſe accounts, I was unwilling to truſt my proofs to oral communication, which is often expoſed to ſome omiſſion of particulars, to ſome improprieties of language, and to ſome irregularity in arrangement.

I, there-

I, therefore, determined to prepare my ſtatement in writing, and to confine my converſation, as much as poſſible, to the matter, and even to the words, contained in that ſtatement.

It is to be obſerved—that I never *made*, nor had the leaſt intention of making, any direct appeal to the judgment of the gentlemen preſent, about the guilt or the innocence of Mr. C. This he was himſelf authoriſed to do, nor ſhould I have condemned him for doing it. But the only purpoſe, for which I gave him the meeting, was, to convince him and our common friends, that I not haſtily taken up my ſuſpicions, nor raſhly exaggerated any one circumſtance upon which they were founded.——

Upon the propriety or impropriety of an action *acknowledged*, I ſhould readily have availed myſelf of that aſſiſtance, which the gentlemen preſent were well able to afford—But, when the ſubjects on Mr. C.'s part, were the ſimple facts of writing, or not writing, the letters; and, when the defence was to be mere aſſertion, the proof involved in that aſſertion muſt, I was aware, produce its effect at once. It could derive little ſtrength from repetition in the ſpeaker, or from diſcuſſion among the hearers. When contraſted with the circumſtances in the ſtatement, it could do me no prejudice. When meaſured by the credibility of Mr. C. it might avert from him diſhonour. Mr. C. might not violate truth, in aſſerting his innocence, as Dr. P. might have tranſgreſſed no duty, in ſuſpecting his guilt.—The chief difference was this: the circumſtances being accompanied by written evidence, could not be feigned. But the aſſertion, being accompanied by no collateral evidence whatſoever, *might* be untrue. When, therefore, the ſame evidence, upon the ſame points of fact, was to be laid by Mr. C. before the ſame company, I was aware that every gentleman would decide for himſelf. —But I could not, without abſurdity, talk of believing, nor, without inſincerity, profeſs to believe, the decla-

declarations of Mr. C., merely becauſe they were believed by other gentlemen, however I might reſpect their underſtanding, and however I might confide in their honour. My only concern with them was, as I ſaid juſt now, to prove, that I was myſelf juſtified in ſuſpecting Mr. C. *before* I had heard his denial: and as to any diſtruſt, which might remain upon my mind, *after* hearing it, I did not conceive the juſtice, or the injuſtice, of it, to be, in any degree, the object of inveſtigation at our meeting. Such a condition was not implied in Dr. Marſh's invitation; it was not propoſed by Dr. Marſh in expreſs terms; and, if propoſed by him, it would certainly have been rejected by me.

Though I conceived it poſſible for myſelf to diſbelieve Mr. C., yet I determined not to offend him. I foreſaw the groſs impropriety of communicating all the private cauſes, which might concur with the avowed cauſes, in producing that diſbelief, and, therefore, I contented myſelf with introducing into my ſtatement, a few ſtrong reaſons; ſome relating to general principles, upon the improbability of confeſſion from the offending party; and one, profeſſedly founded upon a particular converſation at Solyhull, which had given me no very favourable opinion of Mr. C.'s candour.—Properly as thoſe reaſons were admitted, and temperately as they were expreſſed; in my ſtatement, I meant neither to illuſtrate nor to enforce them in the interview at Coventry. I even intended to wave every advantage, which might be derived from ſuch arguments, as the courſe of ſuch a converſation, I well knew, would abundantly ſupply to an attentive hearer.

A few days before the meeting, I informed Dr. Marſh, by letter, that Mr. Mackintoſh, whom he formerly knew, at Edinburgh, was then on a viſit to me, and that, with the Doctor's permiſſion, he would be of our party.——

On

On Thurſday, the twenty-ninth of September, Mr. C. and I met the other gentlemen at the houſe of Dr. Marſh, and we parted as I expected we ſhould part. Mr. C. was not inſenſible to the force of my ſtatement, and I was not *wholly* convinced by the poſitiveneſs, or by the frequency, or by the ſerious tone of his aſſeverations.———

The next day I had the pleaſure of ſeeing Mr. Eyre and Dr. Marſh at Hatton; and I was not without hopes of ſeeing Mr. Yates, who, however, did not come. In the preſence of the two former gentlemen and Mr. Mackintoſh, I read an account of what had paſſed the preceding day. It was drawn up on the Friday morning. It received a few ſlight alterations in the afternoon, and it will hereafter be brought forward in its proper place.——A few days after, I wrote a letter to Dr. Marſh, to the following effect: That "I, at "Coventry, had ſtudiouſly avoided aſking him to give "an opinion upon my ſtatement; that Dr. Marſh had "then been pleaſed to expreſs ſome kind of aſſent to "Mr. C.'s denial; that I now wiſhed to know what "degree of importance he aſſigned to the circum-"ſtantial proofs which I had produced for my ſuſ-"picion; and that I relied upon his readineſs to do "me the juſtice which he had before done, ſpon-"taneouſly and properly, to Mr. C." I beg leave to ſtate the anſwer of Dr. Marſh in his own words, for they open the real and the entire ſtate of his mind; and they do equal credit to the clearneſs of his judgment, and the delicacy of his ſentiments.

Quotation from Dr. MARSH's *Letter.*

"I certainly did not then (*i. e.* at the interview) "give any opinion upon the force of the circumſtan-"tial evidence, as produced by Dr. P. It did not "appear to me, in the leaſt degree, neceſſary, Mr. C. "himſelf admitting the grounds on which Dr. P. "had gone were ſufficient to juſtify the Doctor in

"forming

" forming the ſuſpicion which he entertained, of Mr. " C. being the author of the anonymous letters, " alluded to.—I was, however, at that time, of " opinion, that the force of the circumſtantial evi- " dence was ſo powerful as to render neceſſary the " belief, that the perſon who denied the fact, was " incapable of denying truth, before any credit could " be given to the denial."

Amidſt the multiplicity of my engagements, I ſeldom looked back to what had paſſed at Coventry, and in the variety of more entertaining and more intereſting converſation, which my viſitors uſually furniſh, I did not think it worth while to obtrude upon their notice a tranſaction in which they had no concern, and about which they felt, perhaps, little or no curioſity. In the mean time, I heard that Mr. C. had been telling his ſtory very induſtriouſly in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and that he very loudly imputed to me a want of candour, for not acquieſcing in the truth of his grave and reiterated aſſeverations. But this imputation gave me no uneaſineſs, becauſe in the whole view of the caſe, it was unſupported by any ſolid proof, and becauſe it proceeded from a man, to whoſe good opinion upon every ſubject of manners, of letters, of politics, of morals, and of religion, I long have been, and ever ſhall be, utterly indifferent. I did not, however, blame Mr. C. for publicly vindicating his reputation, even in quarters, where it had *not been publicly attacked*; and he, ſurely, will excuſe me, for not divulging my ſuſpicions in *every* company, and for not declaring to every acquaintance, that I did not think favourably of Mr. C. in his general character, as well as for his *ſuppoſed* conduct on a particular occaſion. After meeting our common friends, and ſupporting, what *alone* I was concerned to ſupport, the ſtrength of my circumſtantial evidence, I really ſhould have conceived myſelf chargeable with folly, if I had ſtarted

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the ſubject indiſcriminately; with calumny, if I had proclaimed wantonly what I continued to think of it; with treachery, if I had unneceſſarily divulged one very important fact, which had come to my knowledge during the interveiw at Coventry.

As man oppoſed to man, I had been compelled to withhold my aſſent from Mr. C. at a private meeting, and, while the opinion which I held there, was not diſſeminated, and explained, and defended *elſewhere*, Mr. C. had no right to complain of me, for not thinking ſo well of him as he evidently wiſhed me to think, when I ſaw him at the houſe of Dr. Marſh.

In reality, I did not ſee the *expediency*, or the *decency* of announcing to the whole neighbourhood, that one clergyman could not overcome the doubts of another by the authority of his word, or even by the ſolemnity of his oath. Incredulity of ſuch magnitude, would, by ſome, be imputed to the ſtubborneſs of prejudice, and by others, perhaps, to the firmneſs of wiſdom. But, in neither caſe, could it have a very auſpicious effect upon the general intereſts of morality, for Dr. P. to diſtruſt Mr. C. without reaſon, or for Mr. C. to be diſtruſted by Dr. P. with reaſon.—Under this conviction, I felt no ſolicitude to multiply advocates; nor had I any cauſe to be afraid of accuſers.——But leſt Mr. C., who has purſued a *different* courſe, ſhould be hurried into the language of triumph, upon comparing his own fortitude with my inactivity, I ſhall take the liberty of reminding him, that this vehemence of denial, and this eagerneſs of vindication, may not wear the moſt favourable aſpect in the eyes of diſpaſſionate and ſagacious obſervers. Such men do not rapidly infer the ſoundneſs of a cauſe from the jealous vigilance, and reſtleſs anxiety, of thoſe who are intereſted in defending it. They diſtinguiſh between the hardineſs of defiance, and the calm intrepidity of conſcious virtue. They know, that, among the various and plauſible expedients, which raſhneſs, now and then, adopts from the ſuggeſtions of cunning,

cunning, guilt itſelf ſometimes hopes to eſcape from danger by affecting to face it, and ſometimes finds a refuge from ſilent and ſolitary anguiſh in impetuous and inceſſant exertion.

———When raſhneſs drives
Impetuous on, the ſcourge of Heav'n upliſted
Laſhes the fury forward*.—

I deſire Mr. C. to put no harſh conſtructions upon the tendency of theſe general obſervations.—They are meant, not to inſult, but to warn him—not to cenſure his conduct, but to explain my own—not to ſhew that his ardour is neceſſarily wrong, but that my inaction may be equally right.

On Monday, the 24th of October, I was told, that Mr. C. was circulating a *printed paper* about the interview at Coventry, and the next day I was favoured by a learned friend with a copy of it. Such a copy I ought certainly to have received from Mr. C. *himſelf*, and though at this moment I have received none, I ſhould be ſorry to ſuppoſe, that Mr. C. had deliberately determined to ſend me no copy at all; or, that, with equal deliberation, he delayed ſending me one, till he had gained ſome advantage, by an early and unoppoſed circulation of his own ſtatement. Perhaps, Mr. C. has not entirely ſettled in his own mind, how far he ought to retaliate upon me, for my long reſerve with him about the anonymous letters, without conſidering, that the ſituation in which we ſtand *after* our interview, is eſſentially changed; and that, what I formerly concealed from him, I had, till the firſt of September, very cautiouſly, and very delicately, mentioned only to a few confidential friends.—Perhaps, he is entitled to a milder ſolution of the difficulty, and has been ſo much accuſtomed to poſſeſs his own ſoul in

* This is Mr. Potter's animated tranſlation of the following paſſage in the Perſæ of Æſchylus.—

Ἀλλ' ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις, αὐτὸς χὠ Θεὸς συνάπτεται.

 peace,

misplaced

peace, that he never had occaſion to learn experimentally the eſtabliſhed and ſalutary laws of honourable warfare. But my paſſage through life, like that of many other literary men, has not, I confeſs, been quite ſo unruffled, and, therefore, my attention to the decorums of controverſy, would, in all probability, have been more exact, eſpecially in a caſe, where the ordinary application to a bookſeller would not have procured me the ſight of a paper, in which my name had been openly mentioned, and in which my conduct, according to the manifeſt purpoſe of the writer, was holden up to reproach.———

On Monday, the 7th of Nov. I went to Coventry, where I found, that Mr. C. had cauſed his paper to be circulated, and, upon this occaſion, I hope to be excuſed for a little relaxation of my gravity, when I tell my reverend brother of a harmleſs conceit which played around my fancy, as I was paſſing from the town, and for which a reader, who has ſeen Mr. C.'s ſtatement, will eaſily account, without being very profoundly verſed in Hartley's doctrine of aſſociation. It ſtruck me, then, that our reverend inſpector* felt more than an ordinary degree of ſatisfaction in ſending that ſtatement to a place, where his favourite paſſion of curioſity is brought home to the recollection of the multitude, by an annual celebrity in honour of a well-known lady, who could not eſcape the peering eyes of a well-known cobler. Now the love of poſthumous fame is common to all men; the cauſe of the Rector of St. Martin's is more popular than that of the Coventry Hero, and who knows but that the good people at Birmingham may be perſuaded to reward the zeal of their paſtor, by inſtituting a rival proceſſion to the memory of Peeping Charles?

Upon the ſame day, and in the ſame town, a gentleman brought me the St. James's Chronicle of

* *i. e.* of Dr. Prieſtley's letters.

November

try—He is neither an advocate for incendiaries, nor a confederate with traitors—He is my friend, and the friend of his country, and the friend of all mankind. Such, Sir, is the gentleman with whom I have the honor to correſpond, and the intelligence which he conveyed to me, was given him by a reſpectable man, whoſe evidence came into my poſſeſſion on the very day I did myſelf the pleaſure of writing to you my laſt letter. From that evidence it appears, that he received his intelligence from a perſon who heard your ſermon, and who had alſo read a printed thing of three pages, which you had been ſcattering about the county as a ſtatement forſooth! of what paſſed during the interview at Coventry.

Now, Sir, that a perſon under ſuch circumſtances, ſhould put a wrong conſtruction upon your ſermon, may not much ſurpriſe you, when I tell you, upon the authority of a very ingenious gentleman in Solyhull, that another perſon, who had before heard the ſermon, at Solyhull church, was ſo forcibly ſtruck with the matter of the diſcourſe, or the manner of the preacher, as to enquire, "who has been ſlandering Mr. C.?" However, Sir, I now perceive, that you did not introduce into that diſcourſe the Coventry interview: and you may depend upon it, Sir, I ſhall upon all other ſubjects, be ready to give up any doubts upon what you ſay, where I am juſtified in ſo doing by what you prove.

I lament, that in the preſent ſtate of men's minds at Birmingham, general obſervations are liable to be applied, and, indeed, miſapplied, to particular events; and my hope is, that the clergymen of that place, will ſelect ſuch ſubjects, and deliver, ſo far as they can, ſuch inſtruction, as may not be miſunderſtood even by hearers, who are by no means deſtitute of judgment and candour.——

I have a great reſpect for ſeveral clergymen in Birmingham; I know them to be men of ſenſe, and men of virtue: and, I am ſure, that after what has happened, they will take care to ſay nothing from the pulpit,

which has a tendency to miſlead the ignorant, or to inflame the prejudiced.

I am Rev. Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Dec. 2d, 1791. S. PARR.

From the foregoing coreſpondence it appears, that I did not take the liberty of writing to Mr. C. without ſuch reaſons as juſtified me in aſking a plain queſtion; that I meant to give him the credit of diſproving what I had heard; that I ſhould not have treated his anſwer with diſreſpect, if it had claſhed with the letter of my correſpondent; that I thought it diſhonourable to confeſs the name of my informer, while I was ignorant of the uſe to which that confeſſion might be applied; that I carefully traced out the grounds of the information, which had been firſt conveyed to me; and that upon receiving more exact and more agreeable information from Mr. Y. I readily and unequivocally acquitted Mr. C. of having *alluded particularly* to the Coventry interview. I muſt, however be permitted to obſerve, that the choice of ſuch a ſubject, with ſuch a * text in the front of it, tended from the concurrence of recent circumſtances, to ſuggeſt *generally* the remembrance of our diſpute. Whether Mr. C. ſecretly *intended* to do even this, can be known only to himſelf. But what he openly *did*, is now well known to me, and implies, that, before *both* his congregations, he delivered the ſermon in queſtion *at the very time when he was circulating among the members of both a printed paper, which is evidently calculated to ſuggeſt, that I ſecretly hated him, on account of the anonymous letters, and that I virtually had ſlandered him for not acquieſcing in his denial.* After all, diſcourſes upon the folly or the guilt of ſlander, are, at every time, more or leſs, proper in every church;

* See Proverbs x. ver. 18. He that hideth hatred with lying lips, and he that uttereth ſlander, is a fool.

they,

they, at *this* time, may be peculiarly *neceſſary* in one or other of Mr. C.'s churches, and, therefore, I will not venture to accuſe him of "hidden hatred," or of "lying lips," either for circulating the paper, or for preaching the ſermon.

After this detail of events, I ſhall proceed to ſtate what occurs to my mind on the peruſal of ſuch paſſages in the ſtatement of Mr. C., as may ſeem to deſerve from me particular notice. The only part in which he ſtruggles for juſtificaion, is upon the letters of Dr. Prieſtley which he read, and, after reading, forwarded to Government. Now, as this ſubject, in its whole extent, is not leſs intereſting to me from what I have ſuffered, than to Mr. C. from what he has done, I ſhall take warning from the example of my "brother clergyman," who *began* with confeſſion in one place, and *ended* with explanation in another. My intention, therefore, is to meet that ſubject with *all* the difficulties which I ſuppoſe to accompany it—to explain myſelf upon all the circumſtances, that are nearly or *remotely* connected with it—to cruſh every ungenerous ſuſpicion, and to rectify every groſs miſconception.

In the purity * of my converſation, in the regularity of my morals, in the diligent and conſcientious diſcharge of my profeſſional duties, and in a ſteady attachment to the eſtabliſhed religion of my country, I will not yield the palm of ſuperiority to the Rector of St. Martin's, nor, indeed, to any other clergyman now living, however exalted may be his rank, however diſtinguiſhed may be his talents, and however applauded may be his orthodoxy. Whether or no the courſe of my reading, and the habits of my thinking, may have led me to more correct notions, and to a more ardent love of civil and religious freedom † than

* For all the egotiſms which follow, I can offer the candid reader no other plea, than that of ſelf-defence, and upon the validity of that plea, he may determine as he goes on. In the mean time, I ſhall ſay, with old Plutarch, ἀμέμπτως ἐσὶν, ἂν ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῇς πρὸς Διαβόλην ἢ καλήγοριαν. Vid. Vol. ii. page 540. Edit. Xyland.

† "The liberty," ſay I with Mr. Burke, the only liberty, "I "mean," "is a liberty connected with order, and that not only

than ſome men are ſuppoſed to entertain, is a queſtion which I will not diſcuſs in the extent to which I might carry ſuch a diſcuſſion without inſincerity and without impropriety. But my principles, I am ſure, will never endanger the church; my ſtudies, I hope, are ſuch as do not diſgrace it; and my *actions*, I can ſay with confidence, have uniformly tended to preſerve it from open, and from what I conceived to be unjuſt, attacks.

When my beloved and reſpected friend, Dr. John Jebb, was conducting a petition "for a relief from ſubſcription," I was no ſtranger to the ſplendid talents, and exemplary virtues, which diſtinguiſhed many of his aſſociates.—I was no enemy to that active and impartial ſpirit of enquiry, which had led other men into opinions *far* bolder than my own. But I refuſed to *act* with Dr. Jebb, becauſe his plan graſped at too much in too ſhort a time, and becauſe I had been informed of a more temperate ſcheme, which was to have been laid before Archbiſhop Cornwallis by two eccleſiaſtical dignitaries, who have ſince been deſervedly raiſed to the Epiſcopal bench.

Upon all reformations, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, I look not only to the wiſhes and to the arguments of individuals, but to the collective wiſdom of the legiſlature.

In the earlier part of my life, I thought the Teſt Act oppreſſive; but in the year 1782 I very carefully and very ſeriouſly re-examined the ſubject, and changed my opinion. In 1790 I ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the attempt to procure a repeal; and yet, I cannot help indulging the comfortable hope, that in the pro-

"exiſts with order and virtue, but cannot at all exiſt without them. "It inheres in good and ſteady government, as in its ſubſtance and "vital principle." Burke's Appeal, page 35.

"To be poſſeſſed," as Mr. Burke elſewhere ſays, "it muſt be li-"mited; but it is a good to be improved, not an evil to be leſſened. "It is not only a private bleſſing of the firſt order, but the vital "ſpring and energy of the ſtate itſelf, which has juſt ſo much life "and vigour as there is liberty in it." Theſe two paſſages occur in page 57 and 58 of Mr. Burke's "Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents;" and they are very judiciouſly quoted in page 92 of Sir Brooke Boothby's very candid and ſenſible Letter to Mr. Burke.

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greſs of intellectual and moral improvement religious animoſities will at laſt ſubſide, and that the reſtraints for which I have contended, and do now contend, will no longer be thought neceſſary for the public ſafety, by the heads of that church, which I have never deſerted, and by the members of that legiſlature, which I have never diſobeyed.

In the mean time, I think it my duty to diſtinguiſh between the private and the public characters, between the literary merits, and the political ſingularities, between the ſubſtantial virtues, and the occaſional indecorums, of thoſe perſons, who may not agree with me in my religious creed; and, perhaps, if the ſame diſtinctions were now and then made by greater and wiſer men than myſelf, the general tranquillity of the kingdom would not be leſs permanently ſecured, and the nobleſt intereſts of virtue would be promoted more effectually. From the indignation, therefore, which I felt at the behaviour of Mr. C. in reſpect to Dr. Prieſtley's letters, let no man infer, (for without uncharitableneſs, and without injuſtice, no man living can infer,) that I am an advocate for latitudinarianiſm in the church, or a confederate with republicans * in the ſtate.

There are in this kingdom men of no mean conſideration for ability and rank, men whom I thoroughly know, and ſincerely regard, and by whom I am myſelf neither unknown, nor, I would hope, unregarded. Theſe men, I believe, are not accuſtomed to charge me with any overweening fondneſs for ſectaries, or any blind confidence in the leaders of ſects. They are aware, that with great conſtitutional warmth of temper I unite thoſe habits of diſcrimination, which gradually

* My political creed lies in a ſhort compaſs, and I will tell it to the reader in better words than my own.——

Τοῖς μὲν ἐλευθερία γιγνέσθω μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἀρχὴ ὑπεύθυνος βασιλικὴ, δεσποζόντων νόμων τῶν τε ἄλλων πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, ἄν τι παράνομον πράτ[illegible]ωσι.

Platon. Epiſt. 8. p. 355. vol iii. Edit. Serran.

 Such,

gradually teach men to be impartial in opinion, to be temperate in action, and to accommodate the reſults of abſtract ſpeculations to the *real* ſtate of man. Sometimes they may give me the praiſe of a little ſagacity for diſcerning a greater or a leſs portion of bigotry, in every quarter, where I ſee any exceſs of zeal upon points of doubtful evidence, and, perhaps, of utility yet more doubtful.—But they have much oftener ſeen me aſſailed with good-humoured raillery, for ſome wayward propenſities towards the ſternneſs of Toryiſm, when I reſiſted the vicious refinements of theory, and condemned all immoderate ardour for *ſudden* and *ſweeping* innovations, of which I neither perceive the immediate neceſſity, nor can calculate the diſtant conſequences. They know that I aſcribe the moſt intelligible parts of man's equality, and the beſt *ſecurity* for man's rights to the wiſe regulations of ſociety; that I applaud one ancient philoſopher * for the preference he gives to the geometrical proportion adopted by Lycurgus over the arithmetical, which Solon †, perhaps by compulſion, employed; and that I concur with another great writer ‡, in commending thoſe political inſtitutions, where *both* of theſe proportions

Such, if I have read to any purpoſe, is the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, and ſuch too the very letter of the Engliſh law. Rex, ſays Bracton, ſub Deo & lege. Rex habet ſuperiorem Deum, item legem, per quam factus eſt rex, &c. Lib. ii. chap. 16.

* Ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἀναλογίαν, ὡς δημοκρατικὴν καὶ ὀχλικὴν οὖσαν, ἐξεβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος· ἐπεισήγαγε δὲ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν, ὀλιγαρχίᾳ σώφρονι καὶ βασιλείᾳ νομίμῃ πρέπουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμῷ τὸ ἴσον, ἡ δὲ λόγῳ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμει.

Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. queſt. 2. p. 719 vol. ii. Edit. Xyland.

† Ὁ μὲν ἐν Σόλων ἀποφηνάμενος περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς ἰσότης σάσιν ἄποιεῖ, λίαν ἔδοξεν ὀχλικῶς ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ δημοκρατικὴν ἐπεισάγειν ἀναλογίαν ἀντὶ τῆς καλῆς γεωμητρικῆς.

Plut. de Frat. Amor. p. 484.

‡ Διὸ δεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀριθμητικῇ ἰσότητι χρήσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῇ κατ' ἀξίαν.

Ariſt. de Repub. lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 387. vol. 2.

The reader will not confound my meaning with Mr. Burke's ſtrictures (p. 269 of the Reflections) upon the geometrical diſtribution and arithmetical arrangement, of France.

are occaſionally introduced, and judiciouſly attempered.——They know that reverencing even the wilder excentricities* of a paſſion for liberty, I never would break down the fences of ſubordination, and that, deteſting prieſtcraft and kingcraft, under all diſguiſes whatſoever, and for all purpoſes whatſoever, I would ſooner periſh than lend my aſſiſtance to the *abolition* of prieſts and kings.——Qualify, ſay I, and improve; and, if there be real occaſion, reſtrain; but, *deſtroy not.* Anticipate danger by *well-timed and well proportioned* regulation; but provoke it not by ſuperfluous and precarious experiment †. Drive not away with a frown even the viſionary reformer, pay the tribute of a hearing to the ſpeculative recluſe, but *act* not, till your plan of action has received its laſt and beſt ſtamp of merit from the approbation of men, whom practice in public affairs has not made callous to the public weal. Do not give either good men the inclination to ſubvert tumultuouſly, or bad men the power to undermine inſidiouſly, what may be ſafely and advantageouſly preſerved ‡. Do not let looſe the multi-

* "Grand ſwelling ſentiments of liberty, I am ſure I do not deſpiſe. They warm the heart, enlarge and liberaliſe our minds, "they animate our courage in a time of conflict." Burke's Reflections, p. 360—See alſo p. 16 of his Appeal.

† "It is good alſo," ſays Bacon, "not to try experiments in "ſtates, except the neceſſity be urgent, or the utility be evident; "and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the "change, and not the deſire of change that pretendeth the reformation."

They who complain of wiſe laws, and of what Cicero calls, ignavæ rationes, in Bacon's Eſſay upon Innovation, would do well to look for a clearer and ſteadier light in Sir Matthew Hales's Conſiderations, "touching the Amendments or Alteration of Laws." Upon all great ſubjects of policy and law, this great man, as was juſtly ſaid of him in the Houſe of Lords by another great man now living, "is no barren "authority."

‡ "I would not exclude alteration neither; but even when I "changed, it ſhould be to preſerve, &c." p. 363 of Reflections. And again, "A diſpoſition to preſerve, and an ability to improve, "taken together, would be my ſtandard of a ſtateſman. Every thing "elſe is vulgar in the conception, and perilous in the execution." Page 233.

tude to put forth their own enormous and irreſiſtible ſtrength, in vindication both of their own *ideal* and actual rights. Let governors be parties, and indeed leaders, in the improvement of government—let parliamentary wiſdom and parliamentary authority be employed in parliamentary reform, not merely for the honour of parliament, but in conformity to the ſober judgment and the ſolid intereſts of the people, for whom, and by whom, parliament ſubſiſts. Sooner or later this muſt be done, and this being done *well*, few things will remain undone, which ought to be done at all *.

Nam ſic habetote, magiſtratibus, iisq. qui præſunt, contineri rempublicam, et ex eorum compoſitione quod cujuſque reipublicæ genus ſit, intelligi. Quæ res, quum ſapienter moderateque conſtituta ſit a majoribus noſtris, etſi magna quædam et præclara, at non multa tamen, habeo, quæ putem novanda in legibus.

Vid. Cic. Fragm. p. 590. vol. 2 Edit. Gruter.

But why ſhould I ſhroud my meaning in dark and daſtardly generalities? Some well-conſidered plan for a reform in Parliament, with a juſt regard to every ſpecies of property, perſonal and real, and with little

* "Were both the progreſſive reward of well-directed induſtry, and that which is obtained at the termination of its endeavours, much inferior to their uſual amount, one powerful reaſon would ſtill remain to impel mankind to the purſuit of every attainable object, and to make them aſpire after every apparent improvement of their actual condition, whatever it may be;

——Omnia fatis
In pejus ruere, ac retrò ſublapſa referri,
Ni vis humana.——

The ſilent courſe of time is continually taking away from that which we poſſeſs, and from the high perfection of whatever we have cultivated and refined. Nothing ever ſtands ſtill. If progreſs is not made, we muſt decline from the good ſtate already attained, and as it is ſcarcely ever in our power to replace the waſte of time and of chance, in thoſe very reſpects in which they have impaired our condition, we ought to endeavour to compenſate thoſe inevitable loſſes

little or no change in the circumſtance of duration—the removal of every enſnaring ambiguity, and every oppreſſive partiality, on the ſubject of libels—the reviſion of the poor laws, the tythe laws, and the exciſe laws—the mitigation of the penal code—the ſteady infliction of puniſhments proportioned to the real malignity of offences,—the eſtabliſhment of a more vigorous police—the regulation, but *not* the ſuppreſſion, of the eccleſiaſtical courts—the regulation, *or* the ſuppreſſion, of every corrupt and imperious corporation—and, *far* above all, a more ſerious attention of the legiſlature to the cauſe of education, both for the prevention of crimes, and the encouragement of virtue—theſe are the objects which I have moſt at heart. Aſhamed I am not of avowing them, becauſe they looſen no one ancient bulwark, becauſe they leave the crown, the peerage, and the church, nothing to fear, and becauſe they give to the nation at large much indeed to hope. In the progreſs of political knowledge, the Tories, as well as the Whigs, of this country, may claim their ſhare of improvement, and the reſult is, that each party has gradually retreated from thoſe violent extremes, to which their reſpective principles may be ſuppoſed to tend, directly or indirectly. Indeed, I have myſelf the pleaſure of knowing ſome enlightened Tories who concur with me in thinking, that by the temporary union, or even by the generous emulation, of ſtateſmen, in giving effect to the meaſures juſt now mentioned, our conſtitution would be preſerved and invigorated. But they, who comprehend *all the reaſons* which occur to men of reflection for going thus far, are not entirely ignorant of firſt principles, and, by not venturing to go farther, they ſhew, that their prudence is not oppreſſed by theory, nor their loyalty warped by patriotiſm.

In reſpect to France, I diſtinguiſh with the acute, the humane, and the elegant Mr. Dupont, between

by acquiſition of other advantages, and augmentations of good; eſpecially of thoſe which the ſame courſe of things brings forward to our view, and ſeems to preſent to us, as the object of reaſonable deſire," Dunbar's Eſſay on the Criterion of Civilized Manners.

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the neceſſity of the French Revolution, and the proceedings of the National Aſſembly. Upon many of thoſe proceedings I am at a loſs to decide, becauſe I hear ſuch violent and contradictory reports about the characters of the agents, and the motives of their actions. In reality, the opportunities for information in this country are too ſcanty, and its channels are too impure, for the wiſeſt men to determine on the juſtice of many detached meaſures; and in France the time has been far too ſhort to aſcertain their utility. But upon the more prominent features of the new government, an Engliſhman may now be permitted to ſpeak with leſs hazard of error, and leſs offence to decorum.

Ξεινός εἰμι, σκότεινον ἀπέχων
Ψόγον. Pind. Nem. 7.

For my part, then, I ſee much to lament, and much to condemn, in the ungracious act of wrenching from the crown the ſplendid prerogative of making war and peace, in the helpleſs wreck of nobility*, in

* Recollecting the heroes and patriots, whoſe names adorned the Hiſtory of France, I was ſhocked to find their deſcendants involved in the ſame ſentence with thoſe upſtarts, by whom peerage itſelf was diſgraced in proportion as peers were multiplied. I muſt, however, confeſs, that a calm and well-informed obſerver convinced me, after much diſcuſſion, that upon the cloſe of the late government, and even after the introduction of the preſent, no diſtinction could be immediately made with ſafety. Yet I moſt anxiouſly hope, that upon the firſt return of tranquillity, and even among the firſt conditions of reconciliation, it may be propoſed, that the old peers be reſtored to a part of their ancient dignity, that, like the old Cortes of Caſtile, they may appear perſonally, or, like the Scotch peers, they may ſit by repreſentation, in the National Aſſembly, and, above all, that they may collectively conſtitute a ſupreme court of judicature ſimilar to that of the Lords in this country. Hiſtory, I am ſure, does not record, nor can imagination eaſily conceive, a tribunal with rules of deciſion ſo equitable and comprehenſive, with ſources of information ſo pure and ſo ample, or with ſuch a ſpirit of impartiality, and ſuch a dignity of character, as have long diſtinguiſhed our Houſe of Peers. This momentous circumſtance deſerves to be well conſidered by thoſe, who, without offering any ſubſtitute for peers in their judicial capacity, contend for the extinction of the order. But, when the honour of Nobles is treated as a viſionary principle in political theories, a plain and direct appeal to the events of every ſeſſion will cruſh the charge, and convince us, that in deciſions upon the property of all citizens of all claſſes whatſoever, the honour of the higheſt claſs is a real and moſt efficient principle.

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the withered honours of the dignified eccleſiaſtics, in the tumultuous election of prelates by their clergy, in the ſhattered fortunes of the exiles, and in that decree, which raviſhed from primogeniture all its ſalutary, as well as all its noxious privileges, inſtantaneouſly and indiſcriminately. At the ſame time, more and greater ſubjects, not of blame, but of commendation, riſe to my view, in ſome of the attempts that have been made to ſimplify that intricate, uncouth, and ponderous, ſyſtem of juriſprudence, which clogged the deciſions of property, in the abolition of Lettres de Cachet, in the inſtitution of trial by jury, in the mitigation of puniſhments, in the temporary power of controlment wiſely reſerved to royalty, in the inviolability, no leſs wiſely aſcribed to the perſon of the king, in the plenary toleration granted to religious ſects, in the reſpect paid to the doctrines and the ceremonies of the national church, in the proviſions eſtabliſhed for the more laborious orders of the clergy, in the principles, though, perhaps, not the immediate tendencies, of the meaſures which have been adopted for lightening the preſſure of the public debt, and, above all, in the ſpirit, though not the entire detail, of thoſe regulations*, which give real energy to the ſuffrages of the people in the uncor-

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* My opinion is, that the French people never were completely free. They obtained, it is true, an occaſional and temporary mitigation of ſlavery through the contentions for power, which at various times aroſe between the monarchs of France on the one hand, and the old Nobleſſe and the Clergy on the other. Such, too, in other feudal ſtates have been the dawnings of liberty, where, as in France, its pure and auſpicious light was ſoon involved in the gloom of deſpotiſm. They who attend to the Hiſtory of France, muſt know that the Commons in that country never poſſeſſed that effective ſhare in legiſlation, which the Commons in England have *gradually* acquired. The reader will ſee more on this ſubject in Bolingbroke's 15th Letter upon Parties. But, while I agree with Bolingbroke, that the Commons of France, aſſembled under the name of Les Etats, never had any great weight in legiſlation, I maintain that the very act of aſſembling them, ſupplied a principle upon which they, in happier times, have founded a right to extend their powers. It is to be lamented, indeed, that after the adminiſtrations of Richlieu and Mazarine no traces

rupt choice of their own repreſentatives for the permanent preſervation of their own rights. I have no doubts as to the wiſdom, or as to the juſtice, or as to the expediency, of theſe alterations. There are, indeed, ſome ſubordinate and doubtful points of reformation, about which, ingenuity has laviſhed conjecture, controverſy has bandied arguments, and zeal has fulminated invectives, with little propriety, and with little effect. But, when cauſes of greater pith and moment are in agitation, and when their effects are on the point of burſting upon our ſight from every quarter, I would chain up all the little buſy and fretful paſſions, that hurry partizans into enquiries which have no clue, and into altercations which have ſcarcely any aim. To the mighty deciſion of experience

traces of freedom can be diſcovered in the government of France, nor does any attempt to diſcover them ſeem to have been made by Mr. Burke himſelf. Let thoſe who think a peerage adverſe to freedom remember, that Richlieu and Mazarine completed the taſk of humbling the nobility, which had been begun, and with ſome interruption purſued, by former deſpots. I wiſh to ſee in our own country the peerage preſerved, but not to ſee peers wantonly or inſidiouſly multiplied. I wiſh to ſee them inveſted, not with teazing and invidious privileges, but with ſubſtantial and ſplendid rights. Indeed, by the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, they are the ſupporters, not the creatures, of the crown. They are legiſlators for the people, but not their oppreſſors. They have a common intereſt with the people, and an uncommon obligation to preſerve it. While their duties in public life thus aſſiſt in upholding the ſtate, their manners in private life muſt be allowed to adorn ſociety. Habitually conſcious of a dignity which invites reſpect without impoſing ſubmiſſion, they ſeldom wound the feelings of delicate and independent minds by the groſs inſolence of wealth, or by the overbearing arrogance of ſtation. They are placed above thoſe petty competitions for importance, and thoſe petty incitements to tyranny, which we ſometimes lament in the inferior ranks of our gentry. They are not more rapacious than other members of the community, as landlords, nor more contentious as neighbours, nor more immoral, I would hope, as men. They at once are too great to be generally envied, and not great enough to be generally feared. Such, in favour of the Engliſh peerage, are the ſentiments of a man, whoſe imagination, I truſt, it not eaſily dazzled by the glare of opulence, and whoſe ſpirit, I am certain, never ſhrunk from the frowns of power. From the natural progreſſion of thoſe cauſes which diffuſe induſtry and wealth through ſociety, inequalities will ariſe, and, having ariſen, they will lead to diſtinctions of ſome kind or other.

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experience I leave the ultimate event; not, indeed, without a fearful ſenſe of the uncertainty which impends over all the judgments, and all the affairs of men; nor yet, without a high and animating affiance, that partial evils will at laſt work together for the general good, that the nobleſt powers of the human mind will be called into action, and that the public

But to me it ſeems, that in the circumſtances, by which the peers of England are ſeparated from other citizens, and in thoſe, by which they are connected with them, feudal inſtitutions have been ſo tempered and modified by the progreſs of civilization, and the diffuſion of general liberty, as to juſtify every impartial well-wiſher of his country, in reſiſting all attempts to facilitate the ſubverſion of peerage. Lord Bacon has wiſely aſcribed the imperfections of the Turkiſh government to the want of a nobility; and the hiſtory of our own kingdom in the laſt century, exhibits a ſtriking proof that the deſpotiſm of republicans, like the deſpotiſm of monarchs, is more wild and more miſchievous, when uncontrouled by that power, to which our forefathers were eventually indebted for much of their freedom, and which, if properly regulated, is more likely to preſerve, than to endanger our own. By the law of the ſtate, nobles are protected as our equals, and by the law of opinion, they would ceaſe to be our ſuperiors, if they ſhould ever preſume to violate the eſtabliſhed rules of civilized life.'

The manners of Europe, which form ſo large a part of our ſocial duty and ſocial happineſs, originated chiefly among the nobility of Europe. And even in the more improved and more equalized ſtate of ſociety, numerous gradations of rank are neceſſary to preſerve thoſe ſentiments, which ſoften the ruggedneſs of the human character, and teach every man at once to reſpect the dignity of others, and to ſupport his own. As the force of theſe ſentiments is evidently weakened in the lower claſſes of the community, ſo, perhaps, in the oppoſite extremity, it is in ſome degree invigorated by the diſtance between our gentry and the nobleſſe, and the yet wider diſtance between the nobleſſe and the crown. Refinement generally deſcends from the higher to the lower ranks, and its progreſs ſeems to be facilitated by the authority of illuſtrious example, and by the neceſſity which cuſtom impoſes upon us to recognize that pre-eminence, which is fixed by a known rule, and diſtinguiſhed by an appropriate name. But the habit, however it may be formed, embraces all the objects to which opinion has attached reſpect.

I doubt whether thoſe who would deſtroy peerage, be diſpoſed to endure monarchy in any form; and, I am ſure, that they who would extend Engliſh liberty upon the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, will be careful not to drive a powerful order of men upon principles of *ſelf-preſervation*, into ſuch a confederacy with the crown, as may prove injurious to that liberty. Upon the moral influence of nobility I refer the philoſophical reader to Dr. Dunbar's moſt elegant and maſterly Eſſay on the Hereditary Genius of Nations.

ſtock

ſtock of human happineſs will be ſecured and enlarged*.

But whatever may be the opinions I hold, as to the juſtice of the late revolution in France, I have ever diſtinguiſhed moſt carefully, and ever moſt earneſtly intreated other men to diſtinguiſh, between the miſeries formerly endured in that country, and the bleſſings now diffuſed through our own. In France, the government was morbid in its aſpect, morbid in its extremities, and morbid in its vitals: And as to a conſtitution, the very remains of it have ſo long been mouldering in the grave, that even the monumental records of what it was, are almoſt effaced from the page of hiſtory; and the philanthrophiſt vainly ſearches for the fatal ſpot, on which he may ſhed a tear of pity over the ſacred ſhade of murdered freedom—I call not the ſhrunken and ſhapeleſs ſkeletons of authority preſerved in the French parliaments, exceptions to this general obſervation. But in England, we have leſs to fear from the malignity of any diſtemper which may ariſe in the government, than from the unſkilfulneſs or the rapacity of the phyſicians; and of our conſtitution it cannot be unſafe to ſay, that *radically* it is *ſound and vigorous*, and that hitherto it has exhibited no very alarming ſymptoms of rapid decay.

The excellence of all governments, ſaid a great philoſophical ſtateſman, (Mr. Fox,) is relative. But to comprehend relations, where they are numerous, to ſeparate them where they are complex, and to adjuſt them where they are diſcordant, is the province only of a few enlightened men; and well does it become thoſe who may at any time undertake the ſtupendous work of reformation, to explore all the *difficulties*, and all the *dangers* which hang over it, to purify

* My general opinions and general wiſhes upon the ſubject of the French Revolution cannot be more luminouſly expreſſed than in the words of a writer, whoſe taſte, whoſe erudition, whoſe philoſophical habits of thinking, and whoſe manly zeal in the cauſe of rational freedom, have excited the admiration of all Europe:——

Feliciores aliis illi populi, qui imperio ad quamcunque tandem formulam conſtituto, ſed circumſcripto illo, utuntur, ut regnantium libido

purify their own minds from the polluting dregs of vulgar prejudice, and the intoxicating vapours of "ſcience, falſely ſo called," to judge of every queſtion without partiality, and to proceed in every meaſure without precipitation. I do not, indeed, believe thoſe who are now in power, with all their glittering talents and all their gallant profeſſions, to be *ſuch* men. But ſuch men may, at this moment, be found in this country with little difficulty, and, with little hazard of confutation, I could point them out by name.

O yet a nobler taſk awaits your hand,
(For what can war but endleſs war ſtill breed?)
Till truth and right from violence be freed,
And public faith clear'd from the ſhameful brand
Of public fraud.

Upon the firſt peruſal of Mr. Burke's book, I felt, like many other men, its magic force; and, like many other men, I was at laſt delivered from the illuſions which had "cheated my reaſon," and borne me onward from admiration to aſſent. But, though the dazzling ſpell be now diſſolved, I ſtill remember with pleaſure the gay and celeſtial viſions, when my "mind in ſweet madneſs was robbed of itſelf." I ſtill look back, with a mixture of pity and holy awe, to the wizard himſelf, who, having lately broken his wand in a ſtart of phrenſy, has ſhortened the term of his ſorceries; and of drugs ſo potent to "bathe the ſpirits in delight," I muſt ſtill acknowledge, that many were culled from the choiceſt and "moſt virtuous plants" of Paradiſe itſelf.

That the maladies of France had reached almoſt the laſt ſtages of malignity, and threatened a ſpeedy diſſolution of all government, it were folly to controvert. The very act of calling the third eſtate, is

libido coercita ſit bonis legibus & inſtitutis, utque meliora de republicâ, civium ſalute, populi juribus, per primores ſaltem, ſparſa ſint ac vulgata judicia. Atque in hâc felicitate nos quidem ita acquieſcimus, ut bonis votis proſequamur alios populos, quos eo adhuc loco conſtitutos eſſe voluit Providentia, ut libertatem, hoc eſt, ut juſtis finibus circumſcriptum ac legibus æquis firmatum imperium curis ac conſiliis, virtute & conſtantiâ ſuâ, conſequantur.
Heyne's Proluſio Academica, ſpoken at Gottingen, 16th Sept. 1789.

a proof,

a proof, that the paltry tricks of political cunning, and the ordinary reſources of political wiſdom, were quite exhauſted. The members of that Aſſembly exceeded, I grant, the limits of their original commiſſion. But, after every hardy aſſertion, and every wily miſrepreſentation to the contrary, it ſtill remains to be proved, that, by confining themſelves within the limits of that commiſſion, they would have diſcharged all of the momentous duties for which they were appointed, or, that being diſſolved and ſent back to their conſtituents in conſequence of their avowed inefficiency, they would again have been ſummoned when inveſted with new powers, and probably for new purpoſes. If, then, the plea of neceſſity be admitted, as it often is, for occaſional relaxation, or occaſional rigour, in the courſe of *adminiſtring* governments, I ſee not why the ſame plea ſhould, in all caſes, be contemptuouſly ſcouted in the more arduous work of *reforming* them. Every great cauſe involves in itſelf ſome properties, which cannot be yoked by the common forms of interpretation. Every great ſituation is attended by circumſtances too inflexible to be controuled by the authority of precedent. Were the repreſentatives of the Engliſh nation *commiſſioned* to introduce ſeptennial parliaments? No—But novelty has thriven to the full growth of cuſtom, and uſurpation has dropped its terrors under the ſanction of public acquieſcence.

With Mr. Burke I moſt heartily concur, in admiring the prudence and the calmneſs of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen, who in this country conducted the revolution; and, in oppoſition to all the faſhionable complaints which have lately been urged againſt them, I am perſuaded, like Mr. Burke, that, by attempting to do more, they would have ſhaken the ſtability, and ſullied the luſtre, of that, which they have already done well for themſelves and for poſterity. But the circumſtances of England and France, at the æras of their reſpective revolutions, were ſo different, that what in the one would have

been raſh, may in the other be neceſſary. In England the throne was vacant: in France it was full. In England the primary ſpring of all public meaſures was, to ſupply the vacancy: In France the heavy preſſure of the regal power clogged the firſt efforts of reformation, and the machinery of the prevailing ſyſtem was ſo complex, that neither patriotiſm, nor policy, could any longer regulate its motions. In England a bill of rights was prepared, which provided chiefly againſt ſuch diſorders as had ſprung up in a few preceding reigns: In France the evil had grown from age to age in bulk and in ſtrength; it had ſpread through a wider range; it had borne more baneful fruit; the root of it ſtruck down to Tartarus, and its top towered almoſt into the ſkies. In England the claims of the crown were reſented as uſurpations, or dreaded as novelties: In France they were ſyſtematized into principle, and ſanctified by cuſtom. In England the miſchiefs which more immediately called for a remedy, endangered a good government. In France they almoſt conſtituted a government completely bad. In England deſpotiſm was an excreſcence, which deformed only the ſurface of the State. In France it was a canker, which preyed upon the vitals. Upon the queſtion, whether James ſhould be recalled, or William raiſed to the throne, the opinions and attachments of men were in England divided in proportions nearly equal. Upon the queſtion, whether ſome form or other of a new government ſhould be planned in France, ſome experiment be made, which the exiſting laws did not entirely warrant, ſome improvements attempted, which muſt wear the appearance of innovation, there was almoſt one heart and one voice.

All I mean to ſuggeſt by theſe remarks is, that Mr. Burke has been leſs ſucceſsful than he uſually ſeems to be, in his choice of an inſtance to illuſtrate his objections to the new government of France. For, in his general opinion, upon the political and moral

importance of caution and moderation, he commands my firm and moſt ſincere aſſent.

While Mr. Burke contends in favour of a limited monarchy, they who diſſent from him more widely than I do, exult in the proſpect of a mitigated, and poliſhed democracy, veiled under the more decent aſpect of a mixed government. But, with a leaning, I fairly confeſs, in my wiſhes toward a *more ſolid ſubſtance, and a more magnificent form* of monarchy, than have lately appeared in France, I cannot ſubſcribe to the black catalogue of crimes which Mr. Burke has charged upon all the motives, and upon all the meaſures, of the National Aſſembly, often without diſcrimination, and ſometimes, I think, without proof. The native candour of his own mind, would not permit him to include *every* member of the Aſſembly in his calendar of villainy; and his exalted wiſdom ſurely will now induce him to confeſs, that in the virtues of a few there is ſometimes a latent and reſiſtleſs energy to curb the violence of the many. I have already enumerated ſome regulations, which, as a philanthrophiſt, Mr. Burke may ſurvey without a pang, and which, as a loyaliſt, he may without a bluſh commend. But ſince the publication of his two great works, all Europe has been witneſs of an awful ſcene, in which the reformers of France have ſhaken off every odious imputation which may have clung to their characters as being unprincipled traitors, or unfeeling murderers. When good men ſhuddered at the poſſible conſequences of the capture of the French ſovereign; when, by turns, amazement overwhelmed, and pity melted, the mind of every diſtant ſpectator; when the haughty and inexorable advocates for regicidal tenets, ſhrunk on the nearer approach of that ſpectre of vengeance, which their imaginations had arrayed in the robe of juſtice; then it was, that the genius of France aroſe, and led in its train all the virtues which adorn the citizen and the man; compaſſion, gallantry, generoſity, loyalty, a ſenſe of private

private honour, and a ſenſe of public duty. Then ſtarted up that determined phalanx of moderate men, whoſe wiſdom, and whoſe vigour, arreſted the impending ſtorm; whoſe interpoſition, I truſt, would again uphold the State, if it ſhould again reel with any new convulſions; and whoſe influence, at this moment, ſilently controuls the jargon of viſionary demagogues, and the machinations of factious clubs. Theſe were men, ſuch as the unſettled and perilous ſituation of France required; men, whoſe virtues were ſet in motion, and in appearance brought into being, by the ſhocks of empires; and who, in the midſt of havock and diſorder, by their authority ſtruck down bad citizens with awe, and by their counſels huſhed the warring elements of paſſion and intereſt into peace.

They know the times and the ſeaſons. They have obtained a maſtery over thoſe petty and froward humours, which feſter in debate, and rankle in the cloſet. They ſoil not the purity and ſplendour of genius, by expoſing it too often to the gariſh eye of day. Diſdaining to chaſe the caprices of public opinion, and to catch the momentary gale of public favour, they ſeize the public confidence by force, and wield the public ſtrength by one mighty effort for one mighty purpoſe. They reverence their country in their laws, and their king they reverence for the ſake of both. Their moderation, aſſiſted by wiſdom and magnanimity, teaches them what to ſuffer, what to prevent, when to forbear, and when to interpoſe. Their importance, inſtead of being ſquandered upon the fleeting occurrences of the paſſing day, is hoarded up for great occaſions, where it may be felt as well as ſeen. Their courage is not diſſipated in wanton attack, but collected for firm reſiſtance. Their ambition is not tarniſhed by any baſer alloy of vanity. Their conſcious rectitude looks for its reward, not in the plaudits of a tumultuous ſenate, or of a giddy population, but in the calm and approvng judgment of diſtant nations, and of a grateful poſterity.

+ This was published before the period of the Mock Trial & Murder of the King

 Happy

Happy were it for France, if, between theſe moderate men, who do honour to the new government, and the more enlightened friends of the old, ſome communication could be opened, and ſome alliance effected. By mutual conceſſion they might reconcile the jarring claims of the contending parties. By mutual forbearance they might heal the wounds of their bleeding country. By uniting the influence of all good men, collected from all parties, they might cruſh the pretenſions, and blaſt the deſigns of thoſe adventurers, who would deluge France with ſlaughter, whether they be patriots plotting for the introduction of anarchy, or loyaliſts ſtruggling for the re-eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm. But ſuch an auſpicious change is hardly to be expected, while a Calonne broods over his intrigues, while a Bouillé hurls his menaces, and while the ſurmiſes and the reproaches of angry diſputants keep aſunder thoſe worthy perſons, by whoſe union alone that change can be accompliſhed.

It is not my deſign, be it obſerved, to engage as a profeſſed champion in the controverſy upon the affairs of France; and, indeed, I was led in this pamp let, to the firſt mention of them, by perſonal ratherhthan political conſiderations. Had I meant to appear as the antagoniſt, or the advocate of Mr. Burke, (and in any elaborate compoſition I muſt occaſionally have been both,) I ſhould have felt it a duty to him and to the public to explore thoſe mines of political and hiſtorical knowledge, from which he and his opponents have drawn their materials. Some of the books containing that knowledge have fallen, perhaps, within the circle of my reading; and ſome portion of the information they contain, is not wholly beyond the graſp of my humble abilities. But I have touched, and I meant only to touch, upon theſe topics, incidentally. However, having ventured to expreſs ſome difference in opinion from a man eſteemed ſo virtuous and ſo wiſe, I thought myſelf bound, in one inſtance, to aſſign my reaſons; and with the ſame ſentiments

of

of habitual reverence for the ſame eminent writer, I ſhall take the liberty of glancing at two other ſubjects, on which I have not the happineſs entirely to agree with him. The points to which I allude are, the indignant diſtinction which Mr. Burke has ſet up between theory and practice, and the ardent wiſh which he expreſſes for a combination of European potentates againſt the National Aſſembly of France. What I have to ſay upon the firſt will, I fear, be thought dry and unintereſting by many readers; while, in my opinion, every miſtake of ſuch a man as Mr. Burke deſerves ſerious examination, and derives an uncommon degree of importance from the uncommon and indeed the matchleſs talents of the writer himſelf.

Indolence often repoſes, and declamation triumphs, in vagrant propoſitions, which are repeated ſo frequently, and advanced ſo confidently, that to diſpute them, carries the appearance of preſumptuous paradox. Thus we are told of many political maxims, that they are at once true in theory, and falſe in practice. But this union of truth and falſehood in the ſame doctrine, applied to the ſame ſubject, is impoſſible; and the allegation of falſehood, when the doctrine refers to different ſubjects, is wholly impertinent and abſurd. It ſhews only, that the doctrine does not include what it was never meant to include, without proving, that what it does include, deſerves the imputation of being falſe. All truth conſiſts in the relation of our ideas to each other, or in the conformity of thoſe ideas to external objects; and whereſoever that relation or that conformity exiſts, the ideas belonging to either are unalterably juſt; and the propoſition expreſſing thoſe ideas muſt for ever be true. If, therefore, a propoſition be true in theory, it muſt, if made up of the ſame ideas, be equally true in practice, real or ſuppoſed, where the practice is correſpondent to the theory; and where it is not correſpondent, no honeſt man would profeſs to argue without diſcrimination from the one to the other. Between propoſitions belong-

ing to theory, and thoſe that belong to practice, there, indeed, is often a cloſe reſemblance, but not a ſpecific identity: and from that reſemblance, probably, ariſes the opinion, that what is true in one, may be falſe in the other. But in this caſe, the propoſition belonging to practice, and the propoſition belonging to theory, are diſtinct and independent. Each may be true, when applied to its proper ſubject, and each may be falſe, when applied to any other ſubject. The imperfection, however, lies not in the propoſition itſelf, but in the application; and the falſehood, to ſpeak correctly, is to be found, not in the principles of the theory, but in the aſſumption that ſome given caſe reſts upon the ſame principles. Mr. Paley has very ably ſhewn the dependence of our moral opinions and moral conduct upon general rules; and Mr. Hume juſtly obſerves, that the chief difficulty lies in the art of applying thoſe rules to the diſcovery of what is true, and to the obſervance of what is right in particular inſtances.

Now theory is a general collection of inferences drawn from facts and compreſſed into principles. When, therefore, practice and theory are ſaid to claſh, we are not always to maintain, that the theory is generally falſe; but, that it does not include or provide for ſome particular caſe, to which it has been *erroneouſly* and injudiciouſly applied. The theory may be correct and comprehenſive, though inapplicable to ſubjects which prejudice or paſſion has aſſociated with it. Unuſual is it for men to ſay, that what is true in practice, is falſe in theory; and yet, this poſition, though leſs familiar to our ears, is not more inadmiſſible to our underſtandings, than the converſe, that, what is true in theory, is falſe in practice. All practice may not be reduced to theory; but all theory, profeſſing to be founded upon practice, and claiming the right to *regulate* it, is true or probable, ſo far *only*, as it is ſupported by experience.

Again, Mr. Burke ſays, (page 91, 92,) that ſome modern

modern theories upon the rights of men, "though metaphyſically true, are morally and politically falſe." But, aware as I am, in common with a great poetical dialectician, (Dryden,) and, indeed, with every novice in the art of logic, that "fallacies often live in univerſals," I cannot accede to Mr. Burke's obſervation. True or falſe, are the expreſſions of the metaphyſical properties belonging to any propoſition upon the rights of men.—Proper or improper, and juſt or unjuſt, are the expreſſions of the moral properties. Uſeful or pernicious, are the expreſſions of the political properties. In conformity to theſe diſtinctions, I ſhould ſay, that many parts of Mr. Paine's theory about the rights of men, are falſe, when traced up into metaphyſical abſtraction; are unjuſt, when referred to moral obligation; are pernicious, when meaſured by political expediency; or, in other words, the theory itſelf, is falſe, becauſe it does not correſpond to practice, which it profeſſes to regulate. But, while I reprobate ſome of Mr. Paine's opinions about the rights of man, I, like Mr. Burke, (p. 86,) do not in theory deny the exiſtence of man's rights; and in practice my heart is as far as Mr. Burke's, or Mr. Paine's, from wiſhing any one of his *real* rights to be with-holden.

Much, however, as in various inſtances I may condemn the language of Mr. Paine upon the rights of men, I cannot diſſemble my concern at the "dreadful notes of preparation," which have been lately ſounded by *kings* about the rights of kings.

The book of an individual has little or no weight, except what it derives from argument; and argument, if fallacious, may be refuted, or, if miſchievous, may be counteracted by better arguments in a beter cauſe. But when kings proceed to harangue in public and official documents upon the rights of kings, they ſpeak in a tone of authority, which is not to be ſlighted. The line of diſtinction is ſaid to be already drawn by two foreign courts, between kings and ſubjects, nay, between kings and men; between thoſe who have no

right to govern, but as they protect, and those who are under no obligation to obey, but as they are protected; between those who neither govern nor protect the French, and those who in France are governed and protected by laws of their own, and a king of their own.

> For now sits expectation in the air,
> And hides a sword from hilt unto the point
> With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,
> Promis'd to Louis and *their* followers.
>
> SHAK. HENRY Vth.

But in opposition to all the pleas of interference from the other powers of Europe, let Frenchmen, says common justice, decide the affairs of France. *Bella viri pacemque gerant queis bella gerenda.*

For many of the French noblesse "who worshipped," as Mr. Burke most beautifully says "their country, in the person of their king," and "whose blood," as Shakespeare says not less beautifully, "is fetched from fathers of war proof," I have a sincere veneration. Nor would I hastily and indiscriminately condemn the principle, by which some of *them* are actuated in attempting a counter-revolution. The end may be honourable, though the means are execrable, and would lead, in the present case, not so much to the re-establishment of monarchy in France, as to the extirpation of freedom throughout Europe. In respect, then, to the menaces of foreign powers, I must say with Mr. Burke, (p. 59,) that "the arguments of tyranny are as contemptible, as its force is dreadful."

After all the intrigues of politics, all the devastations of war, and all the barbarous excesses of despotism which disgrace the annals of mankind, the black and lowering storm which threatens soon to overspread the face of all Europe, and to overwhelm in one common ruin every loose remnant and every faint

faint veſtige of liberty, conſtitutes a ſpectacle equally new and tremendous.

Even the tenets of Mr. Paine himſelf are yet leſs novel in theory, and yet leſs pernicious in practice, than the counſels of thoſe ſanguinary fanatics, who would unbluſhingly and unfeelingly rouſe the unſparing ſword of foreign potentates, and point it without provocation, without precedent, without any other plea than will, without any other end than tyranny, againſt the boſoms of Frenchmen contending or wiſhing to contend, with Frenchmen alone, upon French ground alone, about French rights, French laws, and French government alone.

When it is urged, that princes from their relation to princes have a common cauſe, and a cauſe, too, it is *meant*, virtually paramount to the rights of ſubjects and of men, the obvious anſwer is, that they who are *not* princes have alſo a common cauſe, and the obvious conſequence of that anſwer is, that if they are true to themſelves, to their neighbours, and to their poſterity, confederacy is to riſe up againſt confederacy, and deluge the world with blood. Τὰς γὰρ τὰς πολιτείας καλαλυούσας, καὶ μεθίστασας εἰς τυραννίδα, κοινὰς ἐχθρὰς παραινῶ νομίζειν πάντων τῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμούντων. (Demoſth. De Libertate Rhod.)

If indeed the threatened cruſade of ruffian deſpots ſhould be attempted, it will, in my opinion, be an outrageous infringement upon the laws of nations; it will be a ſavage conſpiracy againſt the written and the unwritten rights of mankind; and, *therefore*, in the ſincerity of my ſoul, I pray the righteous Governor of the Univerſe, the Creator of men, and the King of Kings, I pray HIM to abate the pride, to aſſuage the malice, and to confound all the devices, of ALL the parties, directly or indirectly leagued in this complicated ſcene of guilt and horror! This inſult upon the dignity of human nature itſelf! This treaſon againſt the majeſty of God's own image, rational and immortal man.

As to myſelf, and to others, who, like myſelf, ex-

preſs

preſs the terror and juſt abhorrence which they feel at this moſt unparalleled meaſure, when we are ſcornfully aſked, why we expreſs thoſe feelings, we ſhall find our anſwer in Mr. Burke's philanthropy oppoſed to Mr. Burke's politics; (p. 9, of his Appeal,) "Is it inhuman to prevent, if poſſible, the ſpilling of Frenchmen's blood, or imprudent to guard againſt the effuſion of our own," and in a cauſe, I will add, which, while Engliſhmen are Engliſhmen, never can be our own? For is it poſſible, that by the intrigues of courts, by the ſophiſtry of miniſters, or by the futile and hollow pleas of a guarantie in one place, and of alliance in another, the free-born deſcendents of free-born fathers can be enticed or inflamed to re-echo one barbarous clamour, to countenance one hoſtile meaſure, to endure one tax, to unſheath one ſword in oppoſition to the precious and ſacred intereſts of general liberty?

Μὴ δῆτα, μὴ δῆτ', ὦ θεῶν ἀγνὸν σέβας,
Ἰδοιμι ταύτην ἡμέραν. Æd. Tyr. v. 830.

Unleſs our conſtitution be, as dying Brutus ſaid of virtue, "an empty name," by the very ſpirit of that conſtitution, and by the force of a compact, more ſolemn and more binding than the ties of any treaty woven in any cabinet, Britons eminently are, what the Athenians profeſſed to be, the κοινοὶ προστάται τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας, the guarantees of freedom itſelf, and the allies of all free men, throughout all the world.

And, when they frown, it is againſt th' oppreſſor,
And not againſt the French.

SHAK. RICH. II.

The people of England, I am ſure, then, are too gallant to engage in a war againſt ſuch a nation, in ſuch circumſtances. The parliament of England is too enlightened to approve of a war. The king of England is far too wiſe, too humane, too magnanimous, to propoſe a war.

But, warmly as I would oppoſe the project of Mr. Burke for the French monarchy to be reſtored by the exertion of kings, who, unleſs they have degenerated into tyrants, can have no real intereſt in its reſtoration, I ſometimes pauſe in uncertainty, and ſometimes ſhudder with fear, when the proceedings in France are holden up as a perfect model for imitation * in England.

Different † are the two nations in their manners and their prejudices, different in the privileges of their peerage,

* Ῥᾴδιον μὲν γὰρ πόλιν σεῖ-
-σαι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαυροτέροις· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώ-
-ρας αὖθις ἔσσαι δυσπαλές
Δῆ γίνεσθαι ἐξαπίνας,
Εἰ μὴ Θεὸς ἀγεμόνεσσι κυβερ-
-νάτηρ γένηται.

Pindar, Pyth. 4.

† As Mr. Curtis, if called upon to tranſlate theſe lines, may have ſome difficulty to preſerve their ſpirit, I will do him the kind office of furniſhing him with their ſubſtance from the title page of a book, which may be more familiar to *him* than Pindar is: and, I am ſure, that he will allow ſome degree of *local* propriety in the following words: "The *meaneſt* rogue may *burn a city*, or *kill* a *hero*; whereas, he could neither build the one, nor equal the other." Mr. Curtis will find this motto prefixed to a book, called "Satan's inviſible World diſcovered, or, a Choice Collection of Modern Relations, proving againſt the Atheiſts of the preſent Day, that there are Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions."

† The ſame differences, which make it unſafe for the Engliſh to imitate the French, may ſurely juſtify the French in not modelling their new conſtitution by that of England. The general principles of liberty admit various modifications; and they who look for the cauſes of our own freedom, not in books of ſpeculation, but in our hiſtory, and in our laws, will aſcribe no ſmall ſhare of it to accident, as well as deſign; to events which human wiſdom ſlowly improved, but rarely foreſaw; to force as well as compact; to conceſſions ſometimes obtained by the interpoſition of parliament, and ſometimes extorted directly from reluctant tyrants by the juſt and loud demands of their indignant ſubjects. If we could inveſtigate the origin of thoſe imperfect and precarious rights, which the inhabitants of many other European countries have from time to time been able to wring from their feudal deſpots, we ſhould find them indebted even for the looſe and unſhapen fragments of their liberties,

peerage, and in the rights of their commonalty; different in the power claimed, and the powers exercised by their kings; different in the forms of their government, and the principles of their laws; different in their modes of religion, and even in their propensity to irreligion, I hope, very different. Keen, therefore, would be my vigilance, and stubborn my reluctance, in applying to the affairs of England those theories which are said to have been purely and completely realized in the new government of France. But, attached as I am, firmly and unfeignedly to the fundamental maxims of the English constitution, I must confess, that not one of the late publications has given me the satisfaction, which at this crisis I anxiously wish to receive. Some writers, I observe,

liberties, to the weakness, rather than the justice, to the fears, rather than to the virtues, and even to the craftiness, rather than to the wisdom, of the ruling powers. Machiavel's system of artifice, and Hobbes's system of power, contain the principles which have really actuated the councils of too many princes. But, happy is our own country in our own times, when the moderation of him who governs, the noble and generous nature of him who is to succeed, and the strength of those who obey, leave us not much to apprehend from either of those systems, if our vigilance be proportionate to our duty. Obscure and scattered as may be the causes of our liberty, we see distinctly, and feel experimentally, their *aggregate and beneficial effects*. Let us then (as Mr. Hume says, Essay 4) "cherish and *improve as much as possible* our ancient constitution, without encouraging a passion for dangerous novelties *." When Mr. C. takes it into his head to answer Dr. Priestley's book on government, he will do me the justice, I hope, to adopt, and the *favour* to *illustrate*, some of the foregoing observations. With *such* an ally, I should think it no great mark of heroism to set Mr. Paine, Mr. Mackintosh, and, indeed, the whole army of republican zealots, and presbyterian martyrs, at open defiance.

* On the other hand let us consider, that "he whose office is to govern a "supine or an abject people, cannot for a moment cease to extend his power. "Every execution of the law, every movement of the State, every civil and "military operation in which his power is concerned, must serve to confirm his "authority, and present him to the view of the public, as the sole object of con- "sideration, fear, and respect. Those very establishments which were devised "in one age, to limit or to direct the exercise of the executive power, will serve "in another to remove obstructions and to smooth its way. They will point out "the channels in which it may run, without giving offence, or without exciting "alarms."——Ferguson on the History of Civil Society, Chap. 6th, Sect. 5th.

have turned our attention only to the darker ſide of government, ſcaring us with evils, which, I truſt, have no exiſtence, foreboding evils, which, I hope, never will exiſt, and exaggerating evils, which every impartial man will acknowledge and lament. Others have affected to wrap up in artificial myſtery * all the powerful ties by which the government of the country is connected with its proſperity; and preferring the haughtineſs of dogmatiſm to the drudgery of proof, they would drive away the eyes of the profane from contemplating thoſe cauſes, which all have a right to examine, becauſe all are daily and hourly intereſted in their effects. But this kind of language

* "A high Tory," ſays Johnſon, "makes government unintelligible:" But I will quote the whole paſſage, becauſe I aſſent to almoſt every part of it, and becauſe there is no part which does not contain judicious remark, and uſeful information.

"A wiſe Tory and a wiſe Whig, I believe will agree; their "principles are the ſame, though their modes of thinking are different. A high Tory makes government unintelligible; it is "loſt in the clouds. A violent Whig makes it impracticable; he is "for allowing ſo much liberty to every man, that there is not power "enough to govern any man. The prejudice of the Tory is, for "eſtabliſhment. The prejudice of the Whig is for innovation. A "Tory does not wiſh to give more real power to government but "that government ſhould have more reverence. Then they differ "as to the church.

"The Tory is not for giving more legal power to the clergy, but "wiſhes they ſhould have a conſiderable influence founded on the "opinion of mankind: the Whig is for limiting and watching them "with a narrow jealouſy." Page 400, Boſwell. I inſert this paſſage in conſequence of Mr. Burke's remark, (page 113 of his Appeal,) that the Britiſh conſtitution is of too high an order of excellence to be adapted to common minds. This ſurely reſembles what Johnſon ſaid of the Tory. But between men of ſhallow and ſuperficial underſtandings, and men to whom Mr. Burke would allow wiſdom and reflection, there is a numerous claſs of citizens, whoſe doubts deſerve conſideration. Poſſeſſing a common ſhare of judgment, improved by the common advantages of education, they are not incapable of underſtanding "many of the views which our "conſtitution takes in, and many of the combinations which it makes." They would recognize it, "with the leſs enquiring in their "feelings and their experience;" and, aſſiſted by ſuch profound thinkers as Mr. Burke, they would alſo "know it in its reaſon and "in its ſpirit."

carries

carries with it neither the plauſibility of theory, nor the ſolidity of fact. It may confound, but it will never convince. It may lull men for a time into ſupineneſs and inſenſibility, but will neither gratify their curioſity, nor allay their terrors, in the hour of danger. Unqueſtionably, the ſpirit of enquiry is gone forth; and my hope is, that it may take a right direction, and lead us, as well to value and to perpetuate the bleſſings which we *now* enjoy, as to obtain, through the *concurrence of good government with good citizens*, other and greater bleſſings, if, indeed, *other* and greater bleſſings are placed within our reach.

From the incidental mention of theſe ſubjects which have been diſcuſſed by Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine, and upon which I would be underſtood to ſtate my opinions, without aſſigning the reaſons for which I *hold* them, I will take occaſion to inform the reader of the effect, which I have felt from a third celebrated writer, to whom the attention of the public has been very much directed.

In the rapid and eccentric motions of Mr. Burke's mind through the vaſt and trackleſs ſpaces of politics, it often loſes the power of attraction upon my own; and as to Mr. Paine *, upon my firſt approach towards him,

Thos Paine

* The part of Mr. Paine's book which intereſted and convinced me the moſt is, the very able narrative which he gives of the progreſs and circumſtances of the revolution at Paris: But I cannot ſuffer "one truth," as Dryden ſays, "to ſupport a thouſand lying rhymes" upon abſtract politics. I recognize in Mr. Paine, a mind not diſciplined by early education, not ſoftened and refined by a various and extenſive intercourſe with the world, not enlarged by the knowledge which books ſupply; but endowed by nature with very great vigour, and ſtrengthened by long and intenſe habits of reflection. Acute he appears to me, but not comprehenſive; and bold, but not profound. Of man, in his general nature, he ſeems only to have graſped a part, and of man, as diſtinguiſhed by local and temporary circumſtances, his views are indiſtinct and confined. His notions of government are therefore too partial for theory, and too novel for practice, and under a fair ſemblance of ſimplicity, conceal a maſs of moſt dangerous errors.

For

him, I was inſtantly repelled to an unmeaſurable diſtance, and for a time was content to view him, as philoſophers

For dignity compoſed, and high exploit
He ſeems. His pen can make the worſe appear
The better reaſons. But his thoughts are LOW.

In plain truth, I underſtand more by the Engliſh word "crown," than "a bauble kept in the Tower to be ſhewn for 12 pence;" nor do I conſider ariſtocracy "as having but one child; as begetting the reſt "to be devoured, and then throwing them to the canibal for prey." The parent, whom Mr. Paine deſcribes as ſo unnatural, is at leaſt an affectionate nurſe during the infancy of her offspring: ſhe feeds it carefully, and clothes it warmly, before ſhe turns it looſe into the wide world. But to drop figurative language, the younger children of our nobility receive the ſame liberal education with the elder; and to me it ſeems, that, inſtead of ſubdividing in all caſes a large fortune among thoſe whom Mr. Paine's law would make equal, but whom nature has not made equal in corporeal and intellectual ſtrength, and whom the equal expectation of independence would, according to their different capacities, make yet more unequal, it were better policy for them to be truſted with the creation of their own fortune by their own merits in the army, in the navy, in the church, and at the bar. Perhaps in a commercial country it were well, if the old feudal prejudices of the nobleſſe againſt commerce were extirpated, as partnerſhip would ſupply the want of a large capital, and the families of nobility would gradually be blended in opinion and intereſt with the induſtrious claſſes of the community. But without the aid of formal diſcuſſion, one plain tale ſhall put down Mr. Paine's ſtrutting metaphor. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt are the younger ſons of noblemen. As to the prieſthood, I have ſeen it ridiculed with wit much keener than Mr. Paine's in the works of Trenchard and Gordon, and with eloquence more magnificent than Mr. Paine's, in the proſe writings of Milton. I mean not, however, to palliate the prejudices of the clergy; and my opportunities for obſerving their cauſes and their effects have not been fewer, I ſuppoſe, than Mr. Paine's. But I alſo know their perſonal virtues; I know their uſefulneſs in ſociety; I know that in this country, they, upon the whole, are a moſt enlightened and valuable order of citizens; and in ſaying ſo, I am not much influenced by ſelfiſh motives, as Mr. Paine would probably allow, if he were acquainted with the obſcurity of my eccleſiaſtical ſtation, and the ſcantineſs of my eccleſiaſtical income. I am not well enough informed about the internal ſtate of America to determine how far Mr. Paine's opinions may be uſeful there in a naſcent government. But when I conſider the progreſs of arts, ſciences, literature, politics, law, and religion in the ſettled governments of Europe, I ſuſpect, that by the

plan

phers look through a teleſcope at ſome dim and ſul-len planet, whoſe orbit is at the remoteſt extremity from the center. But in the middle and more temperate path which Mr. Mackintoſh has generally purſued, I could often accompany him with pleaſure; for, like the earth in the Solar ſyſtem, he ſeems neither to approach too near to the dazzling fountain of light, nor to recede from it too far. My friend, for I have the honour to hail him by that ſplendid name, will excuſe me for expreſſing in general terms what I think of his work *.

In Mackintoſh, then, I ſee the ſternneſs but not acrimony, of a republican, and the ardour but not the impetuoſity of a reformer. His taſte in morals, like that of Mr. Burke, is equally pure and delicate with his taſte in literature.—His mind is ſo comprehenſive, that generalities ceaſe to be barren, and ſo vigorous, that detail itſelf becomes intereſting. He introduces every queſtion with perſpicuity, ſtates it with preciſion, and purſues it with eaſy and unaffected method. Sometimes, perhaps, he may amuſe his

plan of Mr. Paine, inſtead of advancing to a more improved ſtate of ſociety, we ſhould find ourſelves retrograde towards that ſituation, which is commonly called a ſtate of nature, or at leaſt, that we ſhould ſacrifice many of the brilliant and indiſputable advantages, which make us boaſt of living in a civilized and enlightened age. Quotation is my trade, and therefore I will not ſuppreſs ſome lines, which I once applied to the American reformers of Engliſh politics.

Protect us, mighty Providence;
What would theſe madmen have?
Firſt they would bribe us without pence,
Deceive us without *common ſenſe*,
And without power enſlave.

Theſe lines were written in 1680, and are worth remembering in 1792.

* The age of the writer, the merit of his firſt publication, and the reception it has met with from the world, induce me to apply to my friend what Cicero ſaid of Hortenſius——Quinti Hortenſii admodum adoleſcentis ingenium, ut Phidiæ ſignum, ſimul adſpectum et probatum eſt.——Cic. de Orat. Lib. 2.

readers,

readers by excurſions into paradox; but he never bewilders them by flights into romance. His philoſophy is far more juſt, and far more amiable than the philoſophy of Paine, and his eloquence is only not equal to the eloquence of Mr. Burke. He is argumentative without ſophiſtry, fervid without fury, profound without obſcurity, and ſublime without extravagance.

My friend, I am ſure, does not ſuſpect me of wiſhing for the return of "that Prieſtly craft, and Prieſtly "domination, which would certainly re-plunge Eu-"rope into ignorance and ſuperſtition." But he will excuſe me for pronouncing a *moſt decided and a moſt unqualified negative* to the aſſumption of the National Aſſembly, that "the exiſtence of ranks * is re-"pugnant to the ſocial union." On the contrary, I am perſuaded that hereditary as well as perſonal diſtinctions may, *under a wiſe legiſlature*, become the inſtruments of public good, and that without bringing back the rude ſtate of ſociety, which gave riſe to the

* Mr. Mackintoſh does not forget, that in the Roman republic there were diſtinctions of rank not merely among the patricians, knights, and plebeians, but among the nobiles and novi. See Dr. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 179.

"Hereditary characteriſtics attracted the attention of mankind "in ſome degree under all the ancient governments." Dunbar on the Hereditary Genius of Nations.

Among the Lacedæmonians there were perſonal diſtinctions of rank, though not hereditary, and the Greek word exactly correſponds with our Engliſh word peers. See Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. cap. 3, p. 35. Edit. Zeunius, where the note is worth conſulting. See alſo Palmerii Exercitationes, p. 69.

Mr. Hume in his eſſays has often obſerved the ſimilarity between the French and the Athenians; but he did not expect that in ſo few years after his death, ſo ſtriking and new an inſtance of reſemblance would ariſe, as we have lately ſeen in the language of the public aſſemblies—Frenchmen, is now the ſimple and dignified mode of addreſs in the national aſſembly, like Men of Athens, in the Greek orators.

But the mode, in which they often addreſs the King of the French, reminds me of the words which the grand juſticiary, or head of the Ricos Hombres, was content to uſe *once* to the King of Arragon. "We, who are your equals, conſtitute you our Lord and King, on "condition that you maintain our privileges and liberties; if otherwiſe, "not." Vid. Millot's Elements of General Hiſtory, Vol. 1, p. 195. and Sidney's Diſcourſes, Chap. 2. Sect. 5.

nobility * of Europe, a principle of virtuous action already excited (for I contend that it is excited) by the feudal inſtitutions, may be adapted to the exigencies of a more enlightened and more civilized age.

Again, I totally differ from my friend upon the origin and the tenure of eccleſiaſtical property, and in his deſcription of eccleſiaſtics as mere penſioners of the ſtate.—He knows me too well, I am ſure, to impute this diſſent to the weakneſs and the ſelfiſhneſs of profeſſional prejudice. But theſe, and a few other defects, if defects they be, are loſt in the blaze of general excellence; and they who reflect upon the juſt and luminous compariſon which Mr. Mackintoſh has drawn between the peers of France and thoſe of England, may, upon farther conſideration, be led to *other* ſolid and uſeful diſtinctions, upon other momentous and awful topics.

My meaning will be underſtood, when I ſay, that I prefer two independent houſes for legiſlative deliberation to one, and that in a king with the ſubſtance of the executive power, will be found a better guardian of the public weal than in the mockery of a pageant king with little more than the ſhadow.

My opinions upon the ſacred duties and the venerable privileges of an Engliſh King, nearly coincide with thoſe of Mr. Rous, and I am happy in this opportunity of acknowledging the pleaſure I received from his late excellent letter to Mr. Burke. I am, however, compelled to diſſent from this very judicious and patriotic writer, upon the extent to which he would ſtretch his principle of excluding the members of the legiſlative body from all ſhare whatſoever in the duties and the emoluments of the executive government. I grant, indeed, that the more uſeful duties in the lower departments are well enough diſcharged

* "Some decent regulated pre-eminence, ſome preference (not exclu-
"ſive appropriation) given to birth, is neither unnatural, nor un-
"juſt, nor impolitic." Page 76, Burke's Reflections.

by

by men, "formed by the routine of office*. Vide p. 104. of Mr. Rous's Letter." But I cannot admit, that the higher departments ſtand in no need of "minds ſplendidly endowed," or that, when ſuch minds engage in public affairs, "their paths are *ever* marked with ruin." Great revolutions have uſually been atchieved by men of great abilities; but their ſucceſs in turbulent periods is to be imputed to previous circumſtances, and thoſe circumſtances gradually aroſe from the want of wiſdom in perſons who have directed the affairs of government in ſeaſons of apparent tranquillity.

"To ſettle the imaginary balance of power, to impoſe a form of government upon one reluctant people, to adjuſt the limits of dominion to another," are, ſurely, not the *ſole* employments for which an Engliſh adminiſtration is deſtined. That the attention of our preſent governors has been too much directed to theſe narrow and miſchievous objects; that their meaſures, whether ſucceſsful, or defeated †, have been at once expenſive

* That men who are formed, according to Mr. Rous's expreſſion, merely by "the routine of office," can bear up againſt the preſſure of public duties, and public difficulties, I deny as a fact. And upon this ſubject, I think the following remarks of Mr. Ferguſon, deſerving of ſerious conſideration. "When we ſuppoſe government "to have beſtowed a degree of tranquillity, which we ſometimes "hope to reap from it, as the beſt of its fruits, and public affairs "to proceed in the ſeveral departments of legiſlation and execution, "with the leaſt poſſible interruption to commerce and lucrative arts; "when a ſtate, like that of China, throws affairs into ſeparate of-"fices, where conduct conſiſts in detail, and in the obſervance of "forms, it ſuperſedes all the exertions of a great and liberal mind, "and is more a-kin to deſpotiſm than we imagine ‡"

† In the ridiculous and fruitleſs conteſt of this country about the ceſſion of Okzakow, we have ſeen an inſtance where, as Bolingbroke ſays ‖, "The majority without doors compelled the majority "within doors to truckle to the minority." Much do I rejoice at the

‡ Ferguſon's Civil Society. Part VI. Sect. 5.
‖ See Bolingbroke, Letter 13th, upon Parties.

expenſive without advantage, and oſtentatious without glory; that they have multiplied our taxes without extending our commerce, and have *diſplayed* our ſtrength without encreaſing our ſecurity, I readily allow. But, whilſt government embraces the affairs, not of Great Britain only, but of Ireland, and of thoſe remote colonies, which it ſeems equally difficult to keep, and dangerous to abandon, whilſt there is a *real*, as well as an imaginary, balance of power, which every ſtate muſt be concerned in preſerving againſt the incroachments of every other ſtate; whilſt our domeſtic councils muſt, for the ſake of our domeſtic ſafety, be ſometimes engaged in watching the crooked machinations, and in curbing the reſtleſs ambition, of foreign powers; whilſt France is ſtruggling for freedom, and other nations, after the example of France, appear diſpoſed to ſhake off the yoke of deſpotiſm; whilſt our public debt is ſo heavy, and our public intereſts are ſo complex and ſo extenſive, the talents which, under ſuch circumſtances, aim only at "giving

event, but more at the cauſe. What then, it may be aſked, was the obſtacle which prevailed againſt the votes of parliament, the plans of the cabinet, the dark negociations of foreign courts, the ſenſeleſs and deluſive cry of confidence, and the impoſing plea of engagements, which, in Bolingbroke's words, "imply both action and expence *?" My anſwer is, the juſt and extended views, which the Engliſh people are beginning to entertain upon the folly, the injuſtice, and the inexpediency of war, and which, by a ſort of *rebound* from the declarations of the National Aſſembly of France, ſtruck upon the public mind with *a wider and deeper impreſſion*. A ſpectacle has been thus ſpread before the contemplative philanthropiſt, ſuch as the hiſtory of paſt times ſeldom preſents to our view, and ſuch as future hiſtorians will, I hope, deſcribe with enthuſiaſm, and hold up to the wonder and the imitation of all ſucceeding ages. Events yet greater will, perhaps, ere long, burſt from the womb of greater cauſes, and happy is that man, who, mingling the love of freedom with the love of peace and order and ſocial union, ſurveys with philoſophical calmneſs or religious awe the gracious deſigns of Providence, magnificently unfolding themſelves in the intellectual, the civil, and the moral improvement of mankind.

* Bolingbroke's Patriot King.

protection

protection to a people," ought to be of no common order. Such, indeed, is the unquiet and, I believe, unprecedented ſtate of Europe, ſo dark are the views, ſo mighty are the preparations, ſo diſcordant *will be* the *ultimate* intereſts of the European powers, that it is impoſſible to name a period, in which there was greater occaſion for the greateſt abilities in all the branches of our own government, whether legiſlative or executive.

No general propoſition can be more evident, than that without talents of conſiderable magnitude in the perſons to whom the taſk of governing is committed, government itſelf cannot be either reſpectable or ſafe. It cannot, for a long time, direct the public opinion. It cannot employ the public ſtrength to purpoſes of public utility. I will add too, that in a free government like our own, talents, if confined, as we have lately ſeen them, to one miniſter, are big with danger, though, if diffuſed through the various members of adminiſtration, they would give greater energy and greater dignity to every meaſure. Surely, it is not the exceſs of abilities in one quarter, but the want of abilities in many quarters, to which every impartial obſerver will aſcribe our late diſaſters in war, and our preſent diſtreſſes after a long, though moſt precarious and unſettled, peace. To do evil is more within the reach of every man, in public as well as in private life, than to do good. And, if perſons of "ſecondary talents" alone be entruſted, as Mr. Rous wiſhes them to be, with the executive government, low ambition and low cunning, "wielding the armies and navies of the ſtate," would too often baffle the efforts of that legiſlative band in whom wiſdom is combined with magnanimity.

In the preſent condition of the world, good men may indeed wiſh, but wiſe men will rarely hope, for ſuch a kind, and ſuch a degree, of public ſpirit, as ſhall in men of diſtinguiſhed abilities be *wholly* ſeparated from views of perſonal intereſt. If, indeed,

the ſeparation were effected, competition for popularity might ſplit the ſenate into parties more powerful, and in the end more factious, than thoſe which are formed by competition for office; and the favour of the people would *eventually* become a more dangerous ſource of influence, than the favour of the Sovereign himſelf. In their appeals to the public judgment, men in all popular ſtates have been "embarraſſed with preconceived plans of perſonal ambition," in the *mildeſt* "acceptation of the term," and the greateſt talents have been "employed" ſometimes "in teaching the way of truth," but much oftener, "in perplexing, in confounding, and in ſpreading a deluſive cloud before the eyes of nations." This, indeed, would not have happened, if "their hearts had been purely devoted to the public intereſt," but experience forbids us to look for perfection in any number of public men.

Let me not, however, be ſuſpected of inſinuating, that men of tranſcendental ability preſs to the brink of corruption with a more rapid career, than thoſe who excite leſs envy, becauſe they command leſs admiration. On the contrary, the more natural *tendency* of great intellectual endowments is, to reſcue the heart from the dominion of coarſe and ſelfiſh paſſions, and to fix it upon treaſures leſs ignoble and leſs periſhable than paltry pelf, which may be amaſſed without excellence and poſſeſſed without dignity. Even in the ordinary *effects* of thoſe endowments, we ſee a delicacy and elevation of ſentiment, a habit of ſelf-reſpect, a capacity for ſelf-denial, by which men are happily preſerved, at leaſt from *very* ſervile compliances, and *very* atrocious crimes. To ſuch men, the conſciouſneſs of high merit filling the wide expanſe of high ſtation, the homage of the opulent, the powerful, and the noble, the muſic of popular applauſe, the anticipation of glory in ages yet unborn, nay, the immediate buſtle of action itſelf, ſupply gratifications far too exquiſite to be felt by the ſordid ſlaves of avarice,

avarice, the groveling drudges of office, and the venal tools of power. While, therefore, public employments, in which the love of lucre is purified by the love of honor, are conferred upon public men, it can be no diſgrace to individuals, that genius ſhould not renounce the diſtinctions to which patient induſtry, ſuperficial attainments, and even the mere mechaniſm of intellect, are permitted to aſpire; neither can it promote the general good, that they who are capable of atchieving the leaſt, ſhould be excluſively inveſted with the privilege of receiving the moſt.

For my part, when I conſider the general conſtitution and operations of the human mind, I am content to derive from the mingled frailties and excellencies of men, thoſe effects which hitherto have not been produced by the influence of firm and ſteady virtue alone; and I ſometimes rejoice to ſee the impetuoſity of rampant ambition reſtrained by a concomitant paſſion, which looks, indeed, more *immediately* for gratification in leſs brilliant objects, but which clears off much of its own impurity by habitual aſſociation with paſſions of a higher order. When I farther conſider the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing circumſtances of our own country, I am not ſorry to find, that through exertion in parliament is laid open an avenue to that public confidence, which uſually concurs with cauſes leſs honorable in exalting men to employments in the ſtate. But if the profits and the honors of political departments were quite inacceſſible to men, who would erect their fortune on the baſis of their fame, thoſe talents which now range through the wide field of politics would droop and languiſh in the *humbler* cells of office, or being devoted to the views of the Sovereign alone, they would be exerted in their *utmoſt force*, with little controul from the opinions, and little regard to the intereſts, of the people.

No inſtitutions of man, however ſolid in their fundamental principles, and however beneficial in their general tendencies, can be fenced againſt the incurſions

of contingent evil. The advantages even of the beſt regulated monarchy, are expoſed to ſome interruption from the inflexible, but moſt ſalutary rule of hereditary ſucceſſion. Yet, the perſonal defects of ſucceſſors may be compenſated by the choice of miniſters, who have ſkill "to * unfold the drift of haughty and hollow ſtates," "to ſettle" the conditions of "peace," "and to move the main nerves of war, in all its equipage." On the other hand, if men of ordinary attainments and ordinary powers huddle around the throne, they whom Bolingbroke calls the "lumber of every adminiſtration, and the furniture of every court," will ſnatch ſome favourable opportunity of ſeizing upon the higheſt offices. But the crown itſelf exchanging efficient miniſters for agreeable favourites, will be unable to protect the rights of others, or to preſerve its own. It will be equally unprepared againſt the treacherous calm and the ſcowling tempeſt. It will ſubſtitute ſuſpicion for vigilance, obſtinacy for ſteadineſs, and laxity for moderation. It will neither accommodate itſelf to the gradual changes, nor ſupport itſelf under the ſudden revolutions of public opinion. Its ſpirit will at one time be abject, and at another ſupercilious. Its councils will be intricate or wavering, and its meaſures either languid from debility, or violent from unſkilfulneſs. In the mean time, the errors of the Sovereign himſelf will not be corrected, his paſſions will not be controlled, his caprices will be cheriſhed inſtead of being overawed, his weakneſſes will render him a dupe to the craftineſs of his ſervants, and even his wiſdom, or his virtues, will point him out as an object of their jealouſy.

While, however, I contend for that "rare commerce †, which gives and takes a luſtre from the throne," I allow, with Mr. Rous, that "Legiſla-

* See Milton's Sonnet upon Mr. Henry Lawes.
† Young's Satire 7th.

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tion is a very proper ſcene for great talents, and that the ſcience of giving protection to mankind is worthy to fill the moſt extended life."

But my wiſh is, that the public duties may be diſcharged by the ſame men in their legiſlative and executive capacities, becauſe my opinion is, that, by the concurrence of their general intereſts, thoſe duties will, upon the whole, be diſcharged more effectually. Doubtleſs, the ſenate, like the vaulted firmament of heaven, ſhould be ſtudded with ſtars that twinkle, and ſtars that blaze, of every ſize, and in every direction. But, if in our political ſyſtem, the Crown may, with any ſemblance of propriety, be compared to Jupiter, the firſt of planets in magnitude; let it not be made the leaſt in glory, nor deprived of the radiance it may borrow from its ſatellites.

Happy ſhould I be, if the catalogue of uſeleſs and expenſive places in this kingdom were much abridged; if the number of placemen eligible to parliament were fixed by parliamentary authority itſelf; if the offices they ſhould be capable of holding, were ſpecified by ſome known and ſtanding rule, and if thoſe offices were confined, ſtrictly confined, to the moſt active, the moſt uſeful, the moſt arduous, and, therefore, with juſtice the moſt profitable parts of the executive government. But as for the total ſeparation for which Mr. Rous contends, and for which I remember myſelf to have been an advocate ſome years ago, I deſpair of ſome of the good conſequences which he has deſcribed with generous enthuſiaſm, and I foreſee ſome bad conſequences which have eſcaped even his keen penetration. While the Crown has many emoluments to beſtow, there will be many candidates, and among thoſe candidates *ſecret* rivalry would be more dangerous, becauſe more baſe, than a rivalry which is more open, and, therefore, reſtrained by ſome ſenſe of ſhame. Speciouſly as placemen may betray, they receive their reward notoriouſly; and, therefore, the public eye is turned towards them with jealouſy, nor will

will public indignation be wanting to hunt them down with infamy, when their apoſtacy from principle becomes flagitious. Though our ſenators were themſelves thruſt out of office, influence might yet exiſt, while they have uncles and nephews, while they have ſons legitimate, and ſons illegitimate, while they have flatterers and dependants. And who knows, but that, like a river forced out of its uſual channel, and ſpreading itſelf through many ſmaller and more hidden ſtreams, political corruption might gradually find its way to rapacious courtezans, to imperious matrons, and

> That ſtore of ladies, whoſe bright eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the prize
> Of wit and arms———

At all events, the corruption which now circulates among the members of parliament, would be diffuſed more widely among their conſtituents, and this ſurely would be to change a great evil for a greater. The ſenator is now a mixed character. He acts under a ſenſe of different obligations, or, at leaſt, from the impulſe of different intereſts, all of which in their turn prevail. His attachment to the Crown is in ſome meaſure controlled by reſponſibility to his conſtituents; and there are ſituations, in which he is compelled to do homage to public opinion, in order to ſecure the power of gratifying his private avarice. But, the conſtituent is not ſubject even to this imperfect controul. Slight is the degree, and few are the occaſions, upon which he feels reſponſibility to the country at large; and, if bound by perſonal intereſt to ſupport the favourite meaſures of the Crown, he will be diſpoſed to elect ſuch repreſentatives, as will ſecure to him the wages of his own corruption.

If the Houſe of Lords be not included in the regulation propoſed by Mr. Rous, it would ſeize, per-

haps, a monopoly of public profits, it would be more and more diſpoſed to ſupport the claims of the Crown againſt the rights of the people, and would grow at once in ſtrength and in corruption. On the contrary, if it *be* included in that regulation, the effects, in a *mixed* government like our own, would be very formidable. The peers, being a fixed body, would ſilently collect ſuch a firm and compact maſs of independence, as at ſome moment might weigh down the balance either againſt the Crown or againſt the people. The Houſe of Commons is, indeed, a fluctuating body; but, if its councils were in no degree influenced by the offices in the diſpoſal of the Crown, it would, in my opinion, ſometimes riſe too high, and ſometimes ſink too low, in the ſcale of national importance.

Great virtues are uſually the offſpring of great occaſions. Upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of a government, the ſenſe of public duty may be a ſufficient motive of action, and animate the honeſt ambition of thoſe who mean well to their country. But, in the ordinary courſe of human affairs, motives of leſs purity, and leſs vigour, will have their ſhare in guiding the deliberations of every legiſlative body; and, therefore, I call that form of government the beſt, which meets men as they really are, and which, controuling by various means all their various principles, converts them ultimately into inſtruments of the public good.—

Much has been ſaid upon the excellence of our conſtitution, in the independence which it eſtabliſhes among the component parts of our government; nor can it be denied, that in ſome degree they are, and in a great degree they ought to be, independent. But, in practice there is a real and an intimate connection between them, which produces its good, as well as its bad, effects; and a theory balancing thoſe effects, is, I believe, at preſent a deſideratum in the politics of this country. Inſtead, however, of conſidering them merely,

or even chiefly, as mutual checks, I have of late been accuſtomed to view them, as wheels facilitating the motion of each other in a vaſt and complicated machine; and into this train of thinking I was led by ſome profound and original obſervations, which Mr. Fox has occaſionally dropped in parliament, and which ſhallow men have been diſpoſed to impute to the perverſeneſs of oppoſition, or the wantonneſs of paradox. But, if Mr. Burke, in his projected treatiſe on the government of England, ſhould erect a firm and a ſtately pyramid for the preſervation of his own fame; from the ſummit of that goodly fabric we may hope to ſurvey, under one diſtinct and capacious proſpect, thoſe ſplendid ſcenes, which hitherto have been ſeen only in broken and diſorderly parts, and by a dim and tranſient glimpſe. In the mean time, I am compelled to allow with Mr. Hume, (Eſſay 5.) that the intereſt of the legiſlative body (which, by the way, I in ſome reſpects diſtinguiſh from the intereſt of the people) is reſtrained by the intereſt of individuals, and, that the Houſe of Commons ſtretches not its power, becauſe ſuch an uſurpation would be contrary to the intereſt of the majority of its members. "The Crown," ſays he, "has ſo many offices at its diſpoſal, that when aſſiſted by the honeſt and diſintereſted part of the Houſe, it will always command the reſolution of the whole, ſo far, at leaſt, as to preſerve the ancient conſtitution from danger. We may, therefore, give to this influence what name we pleaſe. We may call it," and ſometimes we may juſtly call it, "by the invidious appellation of corruption and dependence: but ſome degree, and ſome kind of it, are inſeparable from the very nature of our conſtitution, and neceſſary to the preſervation of our mixed government." The difficulty, no doubt, lies in adjuſting that degree; and here I confeſs, that "extraordinary efforts will be required to ſupport our free government under thoſe diſadvantages," which Mr. Hume (Eſſay 6.) ſeems to apprehend "from the immenſe property of which the

the Crown diſpoſes, from the increaſing luxury of the nation, from our proneneſs to corruption, from the great power and prerogative of the Crown, and from the command of ſuch numerous military forces." To grapple with theſe difficulties ſucceſsfully, requires an equal portion of honeſty, and of talent, in the executive and the legiſlative parts of our government, an equal ſpirit of moderation to concede, and of firmneſs to retain, an equal capacity for diſcerning what may be conceded without diſhonour, and what may be retained without danger. But, they who would remove every exiſting and every approaching evil by thoſe ſimple and more popular forms of government which have lately been propoſed, would do well to conſider, that by graſping at too much they run the hazard of loſing what may be attained without any violent convulſion * of the ſtate. "Such is the nature of novelty," ſays the Philoſopher abovementioned (Eſſay 6.) "that when any thing pleaſes, it becomes doubly agreeable, if new; and, if it diſpleaſes, it is doubly diſpleaſing upon that account." Now, the tide of public opinion has of late years been turning faſt towards monarchy †, and they who would force

* My dread is not from ſyſtems themſelves, but from the want of wiſdom, and the want of moderation in thoſe who would haſtily and indiſcriminately drag them into practice. In the dreadful moments of public convulſions, experiments even of the moſt hazardous kind are ſometimes unavoidable. But, at preſent, ſuch is the peaceable ſituation of our country, ſuch are the comprehenſive principles of our own conſtitution, and ſuch the ſalutary prejudices, as well as the ſterling good ſenſe, of our own countrymen, that we may juſtly look for thoſe ſolid and permanent advantages which ariſe from the full maturity of moral cauſes, and in the purſuit of which the zeal of reformation ought to be corrected by the calmneſs of philoſophy. Upon this ſubject, I have been favoured, by my learned correſpondent, Dr. William Thomſon, with ſome remarks, which he has permitted me to inſert in this pamphlet, and which for depth of thought, and energy of ſtyle, deſerve the attention of my reader. See in the Appendix, a letter from Dr. W. Thomſon to Dr. Parr.

† In ſtating this very intereſting and very indiſputable fact, I mean not to cenſure government, but to warn the governed.

"Subjects,

force it back with exceſſive and ſudden rapidity to the ſide of democracy, will, I fear, aggravate and perpetuate the miſchiefs which they profeſs to avert.

The metaphyſical opinions which in this country floated upon the public mind during the war with America, eventually took a ſtronger hold upon the fears, than upon the judgment, of well-meaning and well-informed men, and diſpoſed them to throw themſelves back upon the protection of the eſtabliſhed government with all its acknowledged faults, inſtead of chaſing remote or ideal advantages, at the hazard of tumult, and with the certainty of innovation. They have reconciled us to the transfer of royal favor and public confidence, from the ſteady friends of the people, to the haughty, and at the ſame time the inſidious, miniſters of the Crown. They have effected the portentous exchange of jealouſy in the cauſe of freedom, for an indolent and even a ſervile indifference to the ſilent, though progreſſive, increaſe of that power, from which Mr. Hume predicts the euthanaſia of the Britiſh conſtitution—a power, of which "the diſcontinuous wounds," like thoſe of ſome "etherial ſubſtance," are quickly cloſed and quickly healed, and which ſurviving alike the gradual decay, and the ſudden extinction of opinions, of cuſtoms, of religions, and of laws, ſeems by the irrevocable decree of nature herſelf to be deſtined for immortality.

"Subjects, as well as their princes, frequently imagine, that freedom is a clog to the proceedings of government. They imagine, that deſpotical power is beſt fitted to procure diſpatch, and ſecrecy in the execution of public councils to maintain, what they are pleaſed to call, political order, and to give a ſpeedy redreſs of complaints. They even ſometimes acknowledge, that if a ſucceſſion of good princes could be found, deſpotical government is beſt calculated for the happineſs of mankind. While they reaſon thus, they cannot blame a ſovereign who, in the confidence that he is to employ his power for good purpoſes, endeavours to extend its limits, and in his own apprehenſion ſtrives only to ſhake off the reſtraints which ſtand in the way of reaſon, and which prevent the effect of his friendly intentions †."

† Ferguſon's Civil Society, Part 6th.

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In reſpect to the project of Mr. Rous, I would be underſtood to diſapprove, not of the principle itſelf, but of the extent in which he would apply it; and the preſent condition of France confirms me in that diſapprobation. By an undiſtinguiſhing and intemperate eagerneſs for the attainment of that perfection, which metaphyſical writers have holden up to the admiration of a lively and a gallant people, the government of France has been ſtripped of many ſolid ſupports, and decorated with ſome ornaments, which to me appear cumberſome and fantaſtic. When the inteſtine and external dangers which threaten France ſhall be happily removed, I flatter myſelf, that the government will gradually retire from thoſe extremities to which it has been puſhed by the ardour of experiment, by the violence of the prevailing party, by the neceſſity of ſpreading before the people the allurements of novelty, and by the yet ſtronger neceſſity of leaving no power in the hands of thoſe, who were bigotted in their attachment to the old and eſtabliſhed principles of monarchy. But the jealouſy now ſubſiſting between the members of the National Aſſembly and the miniſters of the Crown, the embarraſſments which thoſe miniſters muſt ever meet in conducting the buſineſs of an extenſive empire, under the reſtraints of an immediate and moſt irkſome reſponſibility; the tried, and, it ſhould ſeem, the acknowledged impropriety of public diſcuſſion upon many ſubjects of political detail; the neceſſity of referring thoſe ſubjects to committees, which, after the fervor of novelty has cooled, will always be expoſed to ſecret management and indirect corruption; the difficulty of obtaining official information, and the yet greater difficulty of enforcing ſpeedy, vigorous, and faithful execution—all theſe circumſtances conſpire in convincing me, that the attempt has been made in France without ſucceſs, and that the theory of a total ſeparation between the legiſlative and the executive bodies is falſe; becauſe, it is either incapable of being reduced to real practice, or, if practiſed,

tiſed, is injurious to good government. As to reſearches into the truth of that theory, merely *ex hypotheſi*, I ſhould read with pleaſure the arguments by which ingenious men might ſupport it, if they would fairly warn their readers, that they are writing like Plato in his Republic, or like More in his Utopia. In the inveſtigation of phyſical cauſes, we depend much upon accident; the proceſs of experiments themſelves is ſlow, and the general concluſions to which they lead, long remain doubtful. But, the force of moral cauſes lies more nearly within our reach, and there can be little hope of moral improvement, unleſs that force in all its various directions, and all its intricate combinations, be calculated again and again, and preſented to the views of thoſe who can bring it into action. Unhappily the greater part of ſuch men as govern the affairs of the world, are ſeldom trained to habits of inveſtigation; and for this reaſon it is, that I maintain the neceſſity of high intellectual attainments in thoſe who are to execute, as well as in thoſe who are to controul, the councils of nations. For, amidſt the fluctuating tempers, and the varying intereſts, of large communities, greater or leſs opportunities for practical application will ariſe, when the moſt accompliſhed ſtateſman will find himſelf enlightened by conſulting the ſtorehouſe of abſtract ſpeculation. Conducted as theory ſometimes is, by men of ability and virtue, by a Locke, a Sidney, and even a Harrington, it is of general uſe, becauſe it incidentally throws ſome portion of light upon the real conduct of men, and the real intereſts of ſtates. Thus, I grant that Mr. Rous has unfolded a moſt ſalutary principle, and ſure I am, that he will not be offended with me for endeavouring to give it a more ſure and permanent effect, by ſalutary reſtrictions.

Now, whether my opinion about the governments of France and England be well or ill-founded, I certainly had no concern with thoſe meetings for commemoration, which have been the objects of ſo much acrimonious

acrimonious invective, and the ſource, in my neighbourhood, of ſo many ſhocking depredations, I did not believe them to be illegal, but I thought them indiſcreet; and, therefore, without the ſmalleſt heſitation, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, I more than *declined* two indirect ſorts of invitation which had been ſent to me from two different quarters. It is not for me either to juſtify, or to condemn, other men who acted from other motives.—But, for my part, I was unwilling by any public overt-act to encourage raſh and inconſiderate perſons in *confounding* the events in France with the condition of England. I diſdained to debaſe my character as a citizen and as a clergyman, by the ſlighteſt appearance of indecorum.—I ſhrunk from the thought of irritating * thoſe paſſions, which it is my duty alike to aſſuage by precept and by example. While, however, I accede to the obſervation of Mr. Hume, that in the conflict of public opinions the moſt moderate † are generally the moſt wiſe, I know, by

* Upon the ſame principles of moderation I have acted with ſome effect ſince the riots. A very zealous and well-meaning churchman lately put into my hands a political dialogue, which had been publiſhed at Birmingham, and was to be followed by other dialogues of the ſame kind. After reading it, I told this gentleman that I highly diſapproved of its contents, and that, at this criſis eſpecially, I was very much afraid of its conſequences. At the ſame time I took an opportunity of communicating, by letter, the ſame opinion to a gentleman of great political moderation, who is acquainted with ſome perſons in the oppoſite party, and I deſired him to employ his advice, and the whole authority of his character, in checking, if he could, a publication of which I knew it was impoſſible for him to approve. He complied with my requeſt, and I hear that no more dialogues have ſince appeared. I probably ſhould not have ſeen the book if my friend, the loyaliſt, had not ſhewn it to me. I have not heard the name of the author, and, indeed, I have no deſire to know it. Be his abilities what they may, I muſt condemn him for employing them in ſuch a manner at ſuch a time.

† I know perſons, who having neither taſte to feel, nor judgment to diſtinguiſh, the beauties of Mr. Burke's book, affect to be called his diſciples, and have alſo verified one of Mr. Burke's very important obſervations. "If any [perſon] ſhould happen to propoſe a ſcheme

by my own melancholy experience, that they are not always the moſt ſafe.

When "pity," as Antony ſays, "is choked with cuſtom of foul deeds," in vain would an honeſt man plead, "I am not Cinna the conſpirator." "It is no matter," would the bigot and the rioter exclaim, "His name is Cinna, tear him, tear him; come, brands, ho! fire-brands."

Sorry I am, that this complaint is thus extorted from me, by the impertinent and malignant diſcuſſions which are too likely to ariſe from the republication of Mr. C.'s ſtatement.

Though I do not think myſelf bound to tilt with every doughty champion who may ſummon me into the liſts of controverſy for the choice of my private friends; yet, I am not without ſome local and weighty reaſons for blunting by anticipation the edge of thoſe miſchievous weapons, which malevolence is ever ready to forge, and prejudice to wield. Be it known then to Mr. C., and to all others whom it may concern equally with Mr. C., that my perſonal acquaintance with Dr. Prieſtley did not commence till the ſpring of 1790, and that my firſt interview with him was at the houſe of a very ſenſible and moſt excellent man, at whoſe table, I, in the courſe of the ſame ſpring, ſat down with Mr. C., and paſſed an afternoon without hearing the maſter of the family or his friends, directly or indirectly, called raſcals * for their political tenets.

Some years before I had ſpoken to Dr. Prieſtley, I had occaſion, in one of my publications †, to cenſure

"of liberty ſoberly limited, and defined with proper qualification, "* * ſuſpicion will be raiſed of his fidelity to his cauſe, moderation "will be ſtigmatiſed as the virtue of cowards, and compromiſe as the "prudence of traytors." Such is the language of certain wretches in this country about thoſe who differ from them.

* I allude to a fact in which the public are not concerned, but which is very well remembered by thoſe, whom alone I wiſh to underſtand the alluſion.

† In a note upon my laſt ſermon preached for the Charity Schools at Norwich.

him;

him; and when he had replied with equal firmneſs, and equal politeneſs, I was ſo *graceleſs* as neither to deſpiſe, nor to hate him.

In October 1789, when I preached for the charity-ſchools at Birmingham, I earneſtly recommended to the audience two admirable ſermons which Dr. Prieſtley had written upon a topic very ſimilar to my own. In the courſe of my obſervations I in one place glanced at the "marked pecularities of Dr. Prieſtley upon "controverſial topics," and in another I ſtated confidently, what I ſhall now ſtate again, that the views of the writer "are co-extenſive with the magnitude and dignity of his ſubject, and, therefore, they are not fettered by any limitation from particular modes of theological doctrine, or particular forms of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline."—Thus much I ſaid to inform the congregation, that the peruſal of Dr. Prieſtley's ſermons would not be attended with any danger to their faith; and I did not ſay more, becauſe neither the time nor the place required theological diſputation.

Early in 1790, I reſiſted Dr. Prieſtley and his friends in their endeavours to procure the repeal of the Teſt Act; and on this occaſion I not only ſaw the venerable perſon, and heard the orthodox tongue, of Mr. C., but had the pleaſure of acting with two or three worthy laymen of Birmingham, and with one clergyman for whom I have a great eſteem.

About a month or two after, Dr. Prieſtley and I met; and here begins a black catalogue of crimes, which have been long enveloped in darkneſs, but which I am now audacious enough to plant before legions of ſenſeleſs and mercileſs calumniators in open day.

I knew that Dr. John Leland of Ireland lived upon terms of intimacy with many Engliſh prelates—that Archbiſhop Secker preſerved his acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Chandler—that Dr. Johnſon admitted the viſits of Dr. Fordyce, and did not decline the company of Dr. Mayo. When I myſelf too lived at Nor-

wich, Mr. Bourne a diſſenting teacher, not leſs eminent for the boldneſs of his opinions, than for the depth of his reſearches, was very well received by the worthieſt and moſt reſpectable clergymen of that city. I was, therefore, and now am, at a loſs to ſee why a clergyman of the church of England ſhould ſhun the preſence of a diſſenting miniſter, merely becauſe they do not agree upon doctrinal points which have long divided the Chriſtian world; and indeed I have always found that when men of ſenſe and virtue mingle in free converſation, the harſh and confuſed ſuſpicions which they may have entertained of each other, gradually give way to more juſt and more candid ſentiments.

In reality, the example of many great and good men averts every imputation of impropriety from ſuch intercourſe, and the information which I have myſelf occaſionally gained by converſing with learned teachers of many different ſects, will always make me remember with ſatisfaction and acknowledge with thankfulneſs, the favour which they have done to me by their unreſerved and judicious communications.

There was, I confeſs, a time, when prejudices, I know not how, and rumours, I know not why, had darkened my own mind with the gloom of ſuſpicion about Dr. Prieſtley. But that gloom was ſoon diſperſed in the mild and genial ſunſhine which I ſeemed to enjoy in his preſence; nor muſt I diſſemble, that other men have told me of the ſame agreeable and honourable change in themſelves, which I have moſt happily experienced. Sharp, indeed, are the pangs which every good man is doomed to ſuffer, when ſome unexpected event in the conduct of his friends compels him to abandon confidence for diſtruſt, and eſteem for diſapprobation. But, through the wiſe and gracious appointment of Providence, thoſe pangs are amply compenſated by the effects which we feel from the oppoſite tranſition. The diſcovery even of our own errors is *then* moſt grateful to us. The underſtanding

ing co-operates with the heart, in fixing our attention upon the brighter ſide of a character. The pleaſures of novelty itſelf are not exhauſted at once. Every unkind prepoſſeſſion drops off without effort, and every lurking ſuſpicion is reviewed and diſmiſſed at the tribunal of reaſon. The whole mind, as if relieved from a long and galling preſſure, at one moment repoſes in ſecurity, and at another, expands with joy. It deeply receives every favourable impreſſion which is made upon it by a new and juſter view of things; and while we fondly contemplate the intellectual or moral excellencies of other men, we ſecretly exult in the conſciouſneſs of our own ſagacity, exerciſed and improved by our own benevolence. But, from theſe general obſervations, I muſt return to my narrative.

Not having heard Dr. Prieſtley in the pulpit*, and knowing that in the city of Dublin church-men, diſſenters, and catholics lay aſide all diſtinctions to attend ſermons for charity ſchools, I, in the ſummer of 1790, was once preſent, when Dr. Prieſtley delivered a ſermon of this kind at Warwick. Not having ſeen the ceremony of ordination among the diſſenters, I was a ſpectator of one, where Dr. Prieſtley aſſiſted. Once I *have been guilty* of drinking tea, and once of dining with him at Warwick. Once I *permitted him*, forſooth, to dine with me at Hatton. Once I was ſo *hardy* as to accompany my friend Mr. Porſon for the purpoſe of meeting the very learned Mr. Bering-

* This, I believe, is no uncommon practice with the clergy. Mr. C. I know, has heard Dr. Prieſtley at the old meeting in Birmingham, and, I believe, upon ſome public occaſion. When Dr. Foſter preached in the Old Jewry, it was no diſgrace for eccleſiaſtics to go and hear him, however they might differ from him upon abſtruſe points of ſpeculation. Mr. C. ſurely muſt have heard, that even men of talents are not entirely free from the paſſion of curioſity, by which he is himſelf ſometimes actuated. And when they hear a ſenſible ſermon from a celebrated preacher, they are employed as innocently as they would be in reading letters not their own.

ton* at Dr. Prieſtley's houſe; and when four ſuch men as Dr. Prieſtley, Mr. Berington, Mr. Porſon, and myſelf ate together †, drank together, and chatted together at ſuch a place as Fair Hill, and in ſuch a month as November, REAL incendiaries may, for aught I know, be taught to ſuppoſe, that ſome attempts were made towards a ſecond gunpowder plot. Unfortunately, however, for our deſign, neither Mr. Porſon, I believe, nor myſelf, have ſeen our other two aſſociates from that time‡ to the preſent; and aware as

* This excellent writer and moſt reſpectable man had been engaged in a controverſy of ſome importance with Dr. Prieſtley, before they were acquainted. In truth, men of improved underſtandings and rooted virtue do not ſuffer difference of opinion to give them unfavourable impreſſions of each other. Let us hear what Johnſon himſelf ſaid, when, unruffled by contradiction, and looking to truth, not to victory, he thus converſed with his inquiſitive and candid Tory friend. He repeated his obſervation that "the differences among Chriſtians are really of no conſequence: for inſtance, (ſaid he) if a proteſtant objects to a papiſt, You worſhip images," the papiſt can anſwer, "I do not inſiſt on your doing it; you may be a very good papiſt without it: I do it only as a help to my devotion." I ſaid the great article of Chriſtianity is the revelation of immortality. Johnſon admitted it was, Vol. ii. page 166, Boſwell.

Upon that importance which Johnſon admitted in the general queſtion, and in the ſcriptural evidence of futurity, there is a paſſage in Archdeacon Paley's principles of moral and political philoſophy, which for comprehenſion of remark, ſolidity of thought, and ſolemn grandeur of diction, I conſider as one of the nobleſt inſtances of compoſition in the Engliſh language. The reader will find it in Page 109, Vol. ii. 6th Edition in octavo.

† I hope to give Mr. C. no very unfavourable opinion of our converſation when I add, that a fifth perſon in company was one of the peaceable and loyal people called quakers; I forget his name, but he ſeemed to be a perſon of ſound judgment, and extenſive information; and I believe that he is no leſs an enemy than Mr. C. and myſelf, to the modern doctrine of depoſing monarchs, and the modern practice of burning conventicles.

‡ This ſtatement was exact when I wrote it; but at the beginning of February I had the pleaſure of dining with Mr. Dilly in the Poultry, and of meeting at his houſe, Dr. Prieſtley, Mr. Iſaac Reed, Mr. Cumberland, Mr. Belſham, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Braithwaite, Dr. Thompſon of Kenſington, Mr. Sharpe, and two or three learned members of the univerſity of Cambridge. Hard is my fate, to be thus under the neceſſity of quelling ſlander by the detail of what paſſes

as we are, of the buſy ſpirits which hover round us, we ſhould not have truſted our meaſures to private letters, though ſome of us, I imagine, might have perplexed a Birmingham rector, or even the royal decypherer himſelf, if, for the ſafer communication of our thoughts, we had employed our wit upon the coinage of a new language, or upon a new ſyſtem of ſymbols in two or three languages which are already known.

Beſides paying and receiving all theſe viſits, I have *condeſcended* to accept from Dr. Prieſtley ſome of his controverſial publications; I have *dared* to write to him three or four letters, and *vouchſafed* to receive from him four or five; nay, I have carried my *complaiſance* ſo far, as to examine with great accuracy, and with little or no change of my original and orthodox opinion, the diſpute in which this Hereſiarch was engaged with an illuſtrious prelate. Upon one topic*, where my fixed belief is diametrically oppoſite to that of Dr. Prieſtley, I confeſſed myſelf diſſatisfied with ſome arguments uſed by his antagoniſt. Upon other topics I condemned the auſterity of that antagoniſts ſpirit, though, I have always given him juſt and ample credit for mathematical knowledge, for claſſical erudition, for acuteneſs of reaſoning, and for ſplendour of diction.

Lately I had the honour of being conſulted by Dr. Prieſtley upon a ſubject of ſome importance, and I gave at his requeſt my unreſerved advice, for which, if I were at liberty to proclaim it, I ſhould have the approbation of *all* ſerious churchmen, *all* impartial ſectaries, and *all* ſober-minded citizens.

Such, and ſuch only, has been my connection with Dr. Prieſtley. And was it for this, that, in a ſeaſon of deep diſtreſs and dreadful danger, my principles were

paſſes in private life. Bigots will be ſurprized to hear, that the very day after I had ſeen Dr. Prieſtley I ſpent a moſt agreeable afternoon with the ingenious and worthy Mr. Jones, author of a celebrated work in defence of the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity.

* I mean the ſcriptural evidence for the miraculous conception.

on a ſudden gnawed at by vermin whiſpers, and worried by brutal reproaches? that my houſe was marked out for conflagration? that my family were for three days and three nights agitated with conſternation and diſmay? that my books, which I have long been collecting with indefatigable induſtry—upon which I have expended more than half the produce of more than twenty years unwearied labour—and which I conſidered as the pride of my youth, the employment of my riper age, and, perhaps, the beſt ſolace of declining life—was it for this, I ſay, that my very books were expoſed to moſt unexpected, moſt unmerited deſtruction? In what age, or in what country, do I live? Whither, as an unoffending citizen, ſhall I flee for the protection of the laws; and where, as a diligent and a faithful teacher of Chriſtianity, where ſhall I look for its ſalutary influence, even among thoſe, who make their boaſt of being its moſt zealous defenders? O ſuperbiam inauditam! Alios in facinore gloriari, aliis ne dolere quidem impunitè licere*. But the ways of Providence are unſearchable; and among all the anomalies which baffle conjecture, and afflict ſenſibility, in the moral world, the follies, the fickleneſſes, and the paſſions of man are the moſt inexplicable, and the moſt deplorable. He is a tyrant in defence of liberty—He is a plunderer for the ſupport of law. He is an oppreſſor for the honour of government. He is a ſavage in the very boſom of ſociety. He becomes the unrelenting perſecutor of his ſpecies for the imaginary glory of his God.

My heart throbs ſo feelingly, and my conſcience is ſo entirely unclouded by guilt or fear, that I cannot yet retire from thoſe ſubjects, which the rector of St. Martin's has puſhed into public notice, and from which ſome men will boldly draw thoſe invidious inferences, which others with a ſort of inſtinctive ſubtilty have been content to lodge in the *dark ambuſcade of inſinuation.*

* Vid. Epiſ. Famil. Cic. Lib. ii. Epiſt. xxv.

In

In the name of common ſenſe, then, and of common humanity, let me aſk, can the unlettered, and therefore the prejudiced claſſes of mankind be privileged to preſcribe the bounds of ſocial intercouſe to enlightened men, who, from the very circumſtance of being enlightened, are moſt qualified to aſſiſt others in emerging from the gloom of ignorance, and in ſhaking off the fetters of every unſocial and unchriſtian antipathy? Did not Dr. Johnſon himſelf endure, and, as I am told, almoſt ſolicit an interview with Dr. Prieſtley, whoſe tenets he openly reprobated, and whoſe ſect he derided, too coarſely, as I think, and too indiſcriminately? Inſtead of ſhunning contagion from the preſence of a polemic, who had "blown with a louder blaſt than his fellows the horn of battle," did not Profeſſor White* converſe with him eaſily and amicably, when they met at the great Armoury of Hereſy in St. Paul's church-yard? Did not the Dean of Chriſt Church with his uſual ſagacity and good hu-

* The learned profeſſor, (to his honour be it ſpoken,) was, on this occaſion, and I believe habitually is, actuated by the ſame good ſpirit, by which the orthodox biſhops were diſtinguiſhed after their return from baniſhment, into which they had been driven by Valens. Their conduct was ſo exemplary in all reſpects towards the Arian biſhops, that I cannot refuſe my readers the ſatisfaction of peruſing the following paſſage:

Προεδρίας ἐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν· ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν λαῶν προτιμήσαντες, μὴ καταλιπεῖν σφᾶς ἐδεήθησαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως, μηδὲ διχονοίᾳ κατατέμνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων μίαν παραδοθεῖσαν, φιλονεικίαι καὶ φιλοπροεδρίαι εἰς πολλὰς κατεμέρισαν.

Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. 7, Cap. 2.

But the behaviour of Eulalius, Biſhop of Amaſia, towards an Arian biſhop, who lived in the ſame city, was ſo amiable, and ſo uncommon, that I will venture to lengthen this note by a ſecond quotation from the ſame chapter of Sozomen.

Προνοούμενος ὁ Εὐλάλιος τῆς πάντων ἑνώσεως, ἀντεβούλησεν αὐτὸν πρωτεύειν, καὶ κοινῇ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰθύνειν, ἄθλον ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ τὴν προεδρίαν ἔχοντα.

The Arian Biſhop churliſhly refuſed this honourable offer, and Eulalius by his moderation won over the Arians of his dioceſe to the orthodox faith.

mour

mour call Dr. Prieſtley "a Trinitarian in politics, and an Unitarian in religion," when they ſaw each other at Oxford? Did not Mr. Burke himſelf viſit Dr. Prieſtley at Birmingham? Yes. *Theſe* great and worthy men did *not* think it inconſiſtent with the purity of their faith, or the dignity of their ſtations, to interchange the courteſies of gentlemen and of ſcholars with Dr. Prieſtley. But no buſy tongue has dared to blacken *them* for theſe actions in the opinion of mankind. No accuſing angel has been permitted to record them as ſubjects of condemnation in the awful regiſtry of Heaven.

Living, as I have done, for the ſpace of more than five years within the diſtance of ſixteen miles from Dr. Prieſtley, I have ſeen him far leſs often, than one man of letters would wiſh to ſee another under the ſame circumſtances.

Yet Mr. C., I ſhould ſuppoſe, muſt have met him *as* often, either in the circle of their Birmingham friends, or upon the buſineſs of the Birmingham library. But, whether their interviews have been frequent or not, and whether the converſation which paſſed between them was amicable or not, I could point out one queſtion of high national * importance, upon which they both acted together with the ſame ardour with which I ſhould have acted againſt both, if I had reſided upon the ſame ſpot. Now, as to myſelf, I never had the ſlighteſt communication † with

* I mean the Regency buſineſs.

† Among other inconveniencies which the reverend man of Birmingham had brought upon me, by the raſhneſs of his proceedings and the darkneſs of his ſtatements, I on the fourth of February heard a report, that ſome political letters of my own, which I had written to Dr. Prieſtley, contained ſome unbecoming matter, and that I was angry with Mr. C. for conveying them to government. This ſtory is *totally falſe*. I have reaſons for believing, that the few letters which I really have written to Dr. Prieſtley, were diſperſed by the rioters. But they contain nothing which I wiſh to conceal from the moſt orthodox and loyal man now living. My only hope is, that they are in the hands of ſuch perſons, as will not miſrepreſent what I have written.

Dr.

Dr. Prieſtley upon matters of government, either ſpeculative or practical, and, in all probability, I never ſhall. Yet I have viſited him, as I hope to viſit him again, becauſe he is an unaffected, unaſſuming, and very inſtructive companion. I will not, in conſequence of our different opinions, either impute to him the evil which he does not, or depreciate in him the good which he is allowed to do. I will not debaſe my underſtanding, nor proſtitute my honour, by encouraging the clamours * which have been raiſed againſt him in vulgar minds, by certain perſons who would have done well to read before they wrote—to underſtand, before they dogmatized—to examine, before they condemned. Readily do I give him up, as the bold defender of hereſy and ſchiſm, to the *well-founded objections* of his antagoniſts. But, I cannot think his religion *inſincere*, while he worſhips one Deity in the name of one Saviour; nor do I ſuppoſe that his acts of juſtice, temperance, and charity, have the "nature of ſin," becauſe they ſometimes flow more immediately from reaſon, as abſurdly contradiſtinguiſhed in ſcho-

* Upon this grave ſubject, let me quote the words of a learned Biſhop——"Evil ſpeaking, and ſlander, lying and falſehood, can "never enter into the character of that man, who profeſſes to be a "follower of the bleſſed Jeſus. And I may add, that, however com-"mon it be in the world, yet we ought always to avoid, as a moſt "miſchievous vice, all fierceneſs and uncharitableneſs in the carry-"ing on of our civil and religious diſputes. Too much of this is "to be ſeen almoſt every where: for the furious and the paſſionate "of all parties, have ſo far conquered all humanity within them, "that they can wound, and, as it were, ſtab to the heart, the cha-"racter of any man whom they diſlike, not only without remorſe, "but even with pleaſure."——(Biſhop Pearce.)

This prelate would probably not have agreed with Dr. Johnſon, when he ſaid, that where a man voluntarily engages in an important controverſy, he is to do all he can to leſſen his antagoniſt, becauſe authority from perſonal reſpect has much weight with moſt people, and often more than reaſoning.——Vol. ii. Page 24, Boſwell.

What Johnſon ſaid to Mr. Murray, vide page 49, is leſs unreaſonable. And, indeed, when infidels or heretics play the part of ſcoffers and ſophiſts, they who defend the truth muſt feel indignation, and have a right to expreſs it.

laſtic

laſtic language from faith. I will not compare his opinions with the opinions of Mr. Gibbon, becauſe Mr. Gibbon caſts aſide the evidence of all miracles whatſoever, and becauſe he *derides* revelation, as well as rejects it—I will not degrade his morals to a level with the morals of Mr. Hume, who in his more popular writings has taught the inconſiderate, the ignorant, and the innocent, to think with diminiſhed horror, not of adultery only, but of other impurities too flagitious to be named. When I find a writer bearing among philoſophical men in his own country the name of a philoſopher, and honoured by the teſtimony of many foreign univerſities, I muſt look up to him as ſomething *higher* than a "mere lucky experimentaliſt"—I muſt reſpect him as ſomething *better* than a mere decorous "*Atheiſt*,"* when I *know* that his virtues in private life are *acknowledged by his neighbours*, *admired by his congregation*, and recorded *almoſt* by the unanimous ſuffrage of his moſt powerful and moſt diſtinguiſhed antagoniſts. Upon every ſubject of literature which comes within my reach, I *will* talk and I *will* write to him without reſerve, and in proportion as his opinions may appear to me to approach truth, or to recede from it, I ſhall aſſent without reluctance, or diſſent without diſſimulation. The ſame would be my conduct towards the orthodox Biſhop Horne †, and towards the renowned champion of

* With odious Atheiſt names they load their foes,
And never fail in charities, like thoſe.
In climes where true religion is profeſs'd,
That imputation were no laughing jeſt.
Dryden.

† Soon after my papers were ſent to the preſs, this prelate paid the great debt of nature; and of *ſuch* a prelate as Dr. George Horne, who would not be eager to record, that the life which had been ſpent in virtue and in holineſs, was cloſed in calm and pious reſignation? Little as I am diſpoſed to embrace either ſome philoſophical opinions, which he was known to entertain, or ſome *proofs* of ſcriptural doctrine, which he was accuſtomed to enforce, I cannot forbear to praiſe Dr. Horne at that moment, when to flatter him were vain. To me his character was known only by his writings and by report.

of orthodoxy, Biſhop Horſley, if I could rank theſe reſpectable prelates among my correſpondents. The ſame *has been* my conduct to that moſt amiable man, and moſt accompliſhed ſcholar, Dr. Bennet, the Biſhop of Cork, to the profound and ſagacious Dr. Nathaniel Forſter †, to the learned Mr. Burgeſs, to the celebrated Dr. White, whom I have yet the pleaſure to call my friend, and to Dr. Martin Rowth, preſident of Magdalen College, Oxford—Let me pauſe at the mention of this venerable name.

Amidſt the dreary proſpect which lies before me, when I am to return to Mr. Curtis, I find myſelf refreſhed with the recollection of Dr. Rowth; and why ſhould I deny myſelf the ſatisfaction I muſt feel in ſaying of him here, what of ſuch a man I ſhould ſay every where, with equal juſtice and with equal triumph? The friendſhip of this excellent perſon, believe me, readers, will ever be ranked by me among the ſweeteſt conſolations and the proudeſt ornaments of my life—He, in the language of Milton ‡, " is the virtuous ſon of a virtuous father," whoſe literary attainments are reſpected by every ſcholar to whom he is known, whoſe exemplary virtues ſhed a luſtre on that church in which they have not been rewarded, and whoſe

But they who were acquainted with him perſonally, concur with me in giving him credit for having united a playful fancy with a ſerious heart. He is, indeed, diſtinguiſhed as an antagoniſt of the Unitarians, and as an advocate for the Hutchinſonians. But his temper was never contaminated by the virulence of bigotry, and his taſte diffuſed a colouring of elegance over the wild, but not unlovely, viſions of enthuſiaſm. His peculiarities did not obſcure his excellencies. He loved Hebrew, and he underſtood Greek. He defended Hutchinſon, but in ſpirit and in truth " he had learned Chriſt." His known ſincerity gave a fuller, and a wider effect to his celebrated piety—Dr. Horne profeſſed only what he believed; he practiſed what he taught. Having *really* been " a ſaint in crape," he did not affect the appearance of being " twice a ſaint in lawn." May the church of England ever be adorned by ſuch prelates, ſuch ſcholars, and ſuch men, as a Watſon, a Bagot, and a Horne!

† Late of Colcheſter.

‡ See the ſonnet to Mr. Lawrence.

grey

grey hairs will never deſcend to the grave, but amidſt the bleſſings of the devout, and the tears of the poor. He fills a ſtation, for which other men are ſometimes indebted to the cabals of parties or to the caprices of fortune, but in which he was himſelf moſt honourably placed from the experience his electors had long had of his integrity, and the confidence they repoſed in his diſcernment, in his activity, and in his impartiality. The attachment he profeſſes to academical inſtitutions proceeds not leſs from a ſincere conviction of their utility, than from a deep reverence for the wiſdom of antiquity in the regulations it has made for preſerving the morals of youth, and for promoting the cultivation of learning. His government over the affairs of a great and reſpectable college is active without officiouſneſs, and firm without ſeverity. His independence of ſpirit is the effect, not of ferocious pride, but of a cool and ſteady principle, which claims only the reſpect it is ever ready to pay, and which equally diſdains to trample upon ſubordination, and to crouch before the inſolence of power. His correct judgment, his profound erudition*, and his various

* The fame of Dr. Rowth as a ſcholar does not reſt upon the partial ſuffrages of private friends, upon the dogmatical deciſions of literary cabals, or upon thoſe pompous traditions which are introduced into academical ſocieties with little difficulty, ſupported by little proof, and then being echoed and re-echoed without intermiſſion and without enquiry, roll down from one ſhort lived generation to another, as incontrovertible truths. My friend has made a public appeal to the learned world in his edition of the Gorgias and Euthydemus of Plato, which was publiſhed in 1784. The notes are more full than thoſe of Etwal upon ſome other dialogues of Plato, and more learned than thoſe of the celebrated Forſter. With an exception to the praiſe of conjectural emendation, Dr. Rowth's work deſerves to be claſſed with Muſgrave's Euripides, and Toup's Longinus. I have ſometimes wiſhed, that the editor had added, like Forſter, an Index Atticus; and I am happy to inform ſcholars, that in an old copy of Olympiodorus he has inſerted various additions and corrections from that M. S. copy, which lately diſappeared from the rooms of a very learned and very excellent man, to whom it had been lent by Dr. Rowth.

knowledge,

knowledge, are ſuch as ſeldom fall to the lot of man. His liberality * is ſcarcely ſurpaſſed even by his orthodoxy, and *his* orthodoxy is not the tumid and fungous excreſcence of prejudice, but the ſound and mellowed fruit of honeſt and indefatigable enquiry. In a word, his mind, his whole mind, is decked at once with the pureſt cryſtals of ſimplicity, and the brighteſt jewels of benevolence and piety.

> His life is gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him, that Nature may ſtand up
> And ſay to all the world, *This is a man.*

The reader, if he be a man of letters, and a man of virtue, would perhaps wiſh me to purſue this digreſſion yet farther; and, at all events, he will excuſe me for detaining him from a dry detail of petty facts, to contemplate for a while ſo noble a character, as that of Dr. Martin Rowth. Let us now return to the plea which Mr. C. has offered, for having read and forwarded to government the letters of Dr. Prieſtley.

His words run thus:

"There is one part of the memorial which ſtates

* I can apply to my friend what Johnſon ſays of Zachary Mudge, "By a ſolicitous examination of objections and judicious compariſon "of oppoſite arguments, he attained, what enquiry never gives but "to induſtry and perſpicuity, a firm and unſhaken ſettlement of "conviction. But his firmneſs was without aſperity; for, knowing "with how much difficulty truth was ſometimes found, he did not "wonder that many miſſed it." Boſwell's Life of Johnſon, Vol. ii. page 375. The truth of the concluding ſentence will be felt by every man of deep reflection; and well does it become thoſe, who are not in the habit of reflecting deeply, to weigh its moral and religious importance in mitigating their prejudices, and in reſtraining their invectives, upon certain difficult and momentous ſubjects. Glad ſhould I be if this opinion of Johnſon were, in Johnſon's words, written like the motto of Capaneus "in golden letters," and hung up, not only in every diſſenting academy, but in every hall of every college in thoſe two noble ſeminaries, which, as Milton ſays of Athens, I revere as "the eyes" of this kingdom. See upon this ſubject ſome excellent remarks in page 3 and 4 of Newte's Tour through England and Scotland---a work which I think replete with profound reſearch, and uſeful obſervations, which do equal honour to the author as a philoſopher and a patriot.

"my

" my having ſaid at the Solyhull Green, ' that if Dr.
" Prieſtley's letters or papers came into my hands, I
" ſhould think myſelf juſtified in peruſing them:
" and, if in my opinion they were of a dangerous ten-
" dency, I ſhould think myſelf bound to ſend them to
" government,' this, Sir, requires an explanation.
" It was not meant by me, that, if I found any letters
" or papers of Dr. Prieſtley's, that I ſhould read them.
" No! but if they came into my hands, that is, if
" ſent to me as rector of Birmingham (as was the
" caſe, though not then mentioned) I then ſhould and
" did think myſelf bound to read them and ſend them
" to government. For two papers of Dr. Prieſtley's
" actually had been incloſed to me under a blank co-
" ver, and ſent to me per poſt: and are now one of
" them, I believe, in the hands of Mr. Pitt, the
" other in the hands of a reſpectable gentleman un-
" der government."

Now Dr. Prieſtley, I was well aware, differed from many clergymen in the eſtabliſhment, and from myſelf too, upon many topics of controverſial divinity, and of abſtract politics. He had lately, I was told, incurred the diſpleaſure even of candid churchmen, by his familiar letters to the inhabitants of Birmingham, and by his anſwer to Mr. Burke's well known and much admired pamphlet. He was connected by habits of intimacy, and perhaps by ſimilarity of opinion, with ſeveral gentlemen who aſſembled at the Revolution dinner. He had ſuffered equally with ſome other* diſſenters, by the depredations committed upon his property; and more than the reſt, by the deſtruction of his philoſophical apparatus, by the diſperſion of his

* Little as I am inclined to commend the *prejudices* and *peculiarities* of the diſſenters, I will always do open and ample juſtice to their moral characters. Let me obſerve, then, that of the perſons who ſuffered in the late riots, two or three are men of exemplary lives, and the reſt are quite irreproachable. This circumſtance deſerves ſerious conſideration from all good men, of all religions, and all political parties.

various

Mr. Curtis*, " brother of Alderman Curtis", when I conſider the age you have reached, the amuſements you purſue, the ſtudies you both do, and do not, cultivate, the trouble you may have occaſion to take in collecting and improving your legal tithes, and, above all, the duties you may be required to diſcharge, in viſiting the ſick, and admoniſhing the ſinful, of two large pariſhes; I allow, that you cannot find ſuch a portion of time, as in your caſe might be neceſſary, to learn with great critical preciſion, the ſtructure of a ſentence, or the logical terms of tranſition from one ſentence to another, in your vernacular language. But I believe, that you do not want capacity to underſtand the meaning of ſingle words, and, therefore, Mr. Curtis, I would adviſe you to conſult Bailey's Dictionary, or a more recent publication by the facetious Mr. Groſe, where you will find many curious etymologies, and many beautiful illuſtrations of thoſe choice expreſſions, ſome of which threw *a wild air of peculiarity* † over your converſation at Coventry, and others, I perceive, eſcape from your pen in more ela-

* Leſt the Reader ſhould be ſurpriſed at this ſudden, contemptuous, and *only* addreſs to Mr. C., I deſire him to conſider the groſſneſs of the provocation. Not content with telling all the world, as I told him, upon the authority of the anonymous ſcribbler who had told me, that I had been ſhameleſs enough to abuſe the hoſpitality of my friend, and luckleſs enough to diſpleaſe ſome companies into which he introduced me, Mr. C. ſuffers his invention to ſupply the place of his memory in the choice of expreſſion—he coins for me a word, which I did not uſe—he faſtens upon the moſt *unſeemly* word, which he could *himſelf* uſe. I will not claſs his expreſſion with that numerous offspring, " which on folly frenzy can beget." But I muſt call it, "the fruit of dull heat, a ſooterkin of wit."

† I mean ſuch words as *ſpunge*, *unſeemly*, *blackguard*, *raſcal*, &c. ——*Mores oratoris effingit oratio*, was the remark of a man who had ſtudied human nature,. Cic. de Orat. lib. ii. And it has been both enlarged and improved by another writer of antiquity. *Profert mores plerumq. oratio, & animi* ſecreta *detegit.* Quintilian, lib. xi. cap. 1. But I am not harſh enough to make any direct application of this remark to the perſon who enliſted into his ſervice the foregoing quaternion of terrific words.——

horate compoſitions. If you pleaſe, Mr. Curtis, "indulge your dear wit and gay eloquence," in defying the ingenuity of Dr. Marſh and Mr. Eyre. Diſplay, Mr. Curtis, the ſtupendous powers of your memory in recalling, and of your judgment in compreſſing, the matter of a varied, an intereſting, and ſometimes an agoniſtical converſation, which you once had the very unexpected, the very unmerited, and, I believe, Mr. Curtis, the very unwelcome honour of holding with ſuch a man as Mr. Mackintoſh for three or four hours. But do not, Mr. Curtis, degrade into a ſort of inſolent cant thoſe Engliſh words which have ceaſed to be in common uſe upon the events of common life, and which are juſtly ſuppoſed to have an appropriate and dignified ſignification upon ſerious ſubjects alone. Inſtead of foiſting them into familiar narratives, Mr. Curtis, reſerve them, I intreat you, for your pulpit at Birmingham, either when you harangue your hearers about hereſy, or when you diſſuade them from rioting, or when you rebuke them for profaneneſs, for drunkenneſs, for lewdneſs, for envy, for hatred, for malice, and all uncharitableneſs. But, when you deliberately profeſs to lay before the public the import of my writings, moſt of which you will, probably, as well underſtand with one hearing, as after twenty readings, beware, Mr. Curtis, leſt, by the unauthorized introduction of UNSEEMLY words, you diſtort and diſfigure the form ſo much, that I can no longer recogniſe the ſubſtance as my own. Whatever may be your talents for conjectural emendation, I believe, Mr. Curtis, that you will not employ them to much advantage, when you correct the text of any ſtatement which I may condeſcend to repeat in your preſence.

Τὰς ἄλλας ἐνάριζ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἕκτορα* ἴσχεο χεῖρας,

* In Engliſh, Mr. C. was pleaſed to play the part of a *Hector* to me, as may be ſeen, *not in his own*, but in *my* narrative of the Coventry interview.

Having

Having ſaid thus much upon the only two parts of Mr. C.'s ſtatement which require from me any particular notice, I ſhall not, in ſpeaking of what remains, degrade the dignity of criticiſm by minute remark or by formal confutation.

Upon the ſpirit in which Mr. C.'s paper is drawn up—upon the end for which it was printed, circulated, and republiſhed—upon the italicized mention of the letter which I ſent, and *avowed* having ſent, to him anonymouſly—upon the diſorderly arrangement of ſome facts—upon the imperfect relation of others—and the total omiſſion of more, I ſhall not make any invidious comment. Every reader of diſcernment will decide upon theſe matters for himſelf, and he will be enabled alſo to form a right judgment upon the merits of the whole caſe, by comparing Mr. C.'s printed paper with the ſtrictures already paſſed upon it by three witneſſes; and with the following narrative, which has been twice read, and twice approved by them.

PART THE THIRD.

Narrative of what paſſed at the Coventry Interview.

THE interview of September 29th, was evidently propoſed in a friendly ſpirit by Dr. Marſh, and in the ſame ſpirit, doubtleſs, all the other gentlemen accepted his invitation. How far the converſation which aroſe there is or is not to be conſidered as a private one muſt depend upon circumſtances; and on the part of Mr. C. circumſtances have already ariſen from which it is probable that the particulars of the interview will not be kept very ſecret. Mr. C., for inſtance, ſaid yeſterday, that he would publiſh the treatment he had received. Now, if his words meant only a ſtatement in private converſation, no gentleman can have a right, nor has Mr. C. himſelf, it is preſumed, any intention, to ſuppreſs one part, and to divulge another. But to whatever extent publication may be carried in the paſt meaning, or in the future conduct of Mr. C. it was judged neceſſary by Dr. Parr this morning, to commit to paper the whole of what paſſed yeſterday. Accordingly he ſat down with Mr. Mackintoſh to recollect the facts: he ſtated them as recollected in the preſence, and with the aid of Mr. Mackintoſh; and in the afternoon he read them, as here ſtated, to Mr. Eyre and Dr. Marſh, who dined with him at Hatton, and by whom one ſlight correction, and three or four very proper additions were ſuggeſted.

At Coventry, Mr. C., juſt before dinner, propoſed entering on the buſineſs, for the diſcuſſion of which he and Dr. P. had met each other, and their friends. But Dr. P. knowing that there was not then time for accurate

accurate diſcuſſion, and wiſhing not to haſten the moment in which unpleaſant converſation might ſpring up, deſired to defer the inveſtigation till after dinner. Mr. C. acquieſced, and the gentlemen dined together in very good humour.——

Dr. P. ſoon after dinner produced the two anonymous letters which he had received, a copy of the anonymous letter which he had cauſed to be written and had avowed, and three other letters which had paſſed between him and his amanuenſis, relating to ſome miſtakes which that amanuenſis had committed, and which Dr. P. intended to explain by reading thoſe three letters, if he was required.—

Dr. P. conciſely and pointedly ſtated his opinion upon the purpoſe of the meeting. To juſtify the ſuſpicion which he had entertained and expreſſed of Mr. C., he ſuppoſed it incumbent upon himſelf to produce the facts on which that ſuſpicion was grounded, the evidence which ſupported thoſe facts, and the concluſions which he had drawn from them ſeverally, or collectively. He, alſo, intimated *ſlightly*, that he expected to hear Mr. C. endeavour to clear himſelf by ſuch means as were in Mr. C.'s power, whatever they might be. Dr. P. then deſired permiſſion to read his papers without interruption, and offered to lay them on the table when read, for any gentleman to make obſervations. He at the ſame time propoſed, that Mr. C. ſhould be furniſhed with pen and ink to mark every thing that might ſtrike him; but this precaution was not taken by Mr. C. The Doctor proceeded to read his own ſtatement, after having given the three anonymous letters into the hands of Mr. Eyre, and by Mr. Eyre they were read immediately after thoſe parts of the ſtatement in which they are reſpectively mentioned.—It is proper to introduce that ſtatement here, and to incorporate into it the anonymous letters in their reſpective order.

The Statement read by Dr. PARR.

Having received many civilities from Mr. Sheriff Clay * and his friends, I wiſhed to ſhew him ſome mark of reſpect at his going to Warwick in the ſummer aſſizes of 1790. I ordered the bells of the pariſh to ring, and waited for a conſiderable time to ſpeak to the Sheriff on the Hockley road which goes through Hatton. I could not dine with him, but I went over in the afternoon to the Three Tuns, and entered the room ſoon after dinner. Mr. Curtis there ſtarted to me the ſubject of the Cambridge election, and in a manner, too, of which I did not approve. I was a member of the univerſity, but he then was not—I had been at the election, but he had not. I was naturally enough ſore from the defeat of Mr. Dundas; and to a man who, like myſelf, has ſomething of a public character, and is warmly attached to his friends, no converſation upon ſuch a topic would be very pleaſant in a mixed company, ſome of whom were almoſt ſtrangers to me; and indeed the language of triumph was particularly offenſive, when uttered in the preſence of thoſe who were of an oppoſite and victorious party. The buſineſs was introduced improperly, it was purſued violently, and, therefore, I treated Mr. C., as Mr. C. in my judgment deſerved. When he blamed Mr. Dundas for expoſing his party to uſeleſs *expence* † and trouble, I maintained that my friends

* I am aware that many circumſtances in what Mr. C. calls my memorial, will be tedious to the reader who knows little about the parties. But I had weighty reaſons for mentioning them at Coventry, and I now am not at liberty to omit what I read there.

† Mr. C. is diſpleaſed at Mr. Dundas for permitting his friends to ſpend their money in a public cauſe, and my anonymous London correſpondent, as will appear preſently, is diſpleaſed with me for the expence to which I put Mr. Brooke of Birmingham by ſtaying as his viſitor for three weeks. I blame not either Mr. C. or my correſpondent for their œconomy, but I am convinced that neither Mr. Dundas's

friends were ſuperior to ſuch conſiderations, that we looked to the honour of the ſtruggle itſelf, and that Mr. C.'s mode of reaſoning might be uſed with more propriety of Mr. Pitt's adherents, who had neither ſo good a cauſe, nor ſo generous a zeal. Mr. C. was diſpleaſed, and I was at no pains to ſoften his diſpleaſure.

The ſame after noon he mentioned to me a Bean Club at Birmingham; he politely offered to propoſe me, and I civilly, but incautiouſly, accepted the propoſal.

Mr. Carleſs *, Mr. C., and myſelf rode out in the ſame carriage to meet the judges, and ſeemed to be in good humour. But I knew that Mr. C. was ſecretly hurt at what I had ſaid, and juſtly ſaid; and fearing from ſo impetuous a man, and in ſo promiſcuous a company, the repetition of ſo unpleaſant a converſation, I did not go to the Tuns in the evening, as I intended to go; neither in the aſſize week did I meet the Sheriff, as I had wiſhed to meet him, in public company.

On the Sunday morning I went to hear Mr. C. preach, and I intended by ſo doing to return the civility which he had ſhewn me, when I had gone over to deliver two charity ſermons at Birmingham, and when he had obligingly ridden from Solyhull to read prayers at St. Martin's church in the morning.

Having recollected ſomething that I had formerly heard about the Bean Club, and ſuſpecting that it might ſtill be more or leſs inſtrumental to party purpoſes, I changed my mind, and about the Wedneſday or Thurſday in the aſſize week, I wrote a letter to Mr.

das's friends, nor my friend Mr. Brooke, had ever one uneaſy thought upon the ſubject of expence. And yet their income probably in many inſtances is not equal to that which Mr. C. receives from the great rectory of St. Martin's, and the improved tythes of Solyhull. Mr. C. will excuſe me for glancing ſlightly at the *ſimilarity* of ſentiment in himſelf, and my correſpondent who ſigns himſelf Monitor.

* Mr. Carleſs is a magiſtrate in the neighbourhood of Birmingham.

C. expreſſing the pleaſure I had received from his aſſize ſermon, thanking him for his offer of introducing me at the Bean Club, and withdrawing my intention of becoming a member, upon a plea of farther conſideration.—To this note, if I remember right, no anſwer was given, and none was neceſſary.

On the Saturday after, I, for the firſt time, heard of ſome diſputes * which had ariſen between the Hon. Mr. Dormer and the people of Warwick about the races, of which Mr. Dormer was ſteward; and I was afraid that matters had gone too far for the mediation which I ſhould have been happy to employ.

On the Monday I went by invitation to dine with Mr. Dormer at the Warwick arms. I ſuggeſted every thing in my power for conciliatory meaſures—I procured one amicable interview between Major Packwood † and the ſteward—I was an eye-witneſs of freſh difficulties thrown in the ſteward's way. I then recommended firmneſs, and I gave ſuch counſel, and ſuch aſſiſtance, as it became me to give, in the character of Mr. Dormer's friend.

In the cloſe of that week was the muſical meeting at Birmingham, which I did not attend.

I was ſoon after honoured with an anonymous letter, which, from the remembrance of what had recently paſſed, *drew* my ſuſpicions towards Mr. Curtis.

Copy of the firſt anonymous letter ſent to Dr. Parr, and received by him Auguſt 29th.

MANY perſons who have witneſſed in this town the

* Mr. Dormer upon this occaſion met with very improper treatment from a ſpecies of bipeds called aldermen; and as the Rev. Mr. C.'s brother is an individual of that ſpecies, I ſuſpect this circumſtance to have had ſome force in ſharpening the reſentment of Mr. C. againſt me as the friend of Mr. Dormer. But I do not take upon myſelf to affirm, that the rural relaxation of our worthy alderman, and the epiſtolary amuſements of my anonymous correſpondent at Birmingham were *ſynchronous*.

† Major in the Warwickſhire militia, and a very good-humoured man.

party

party and dogmatical ſpirit of Dr. Parr, refer him for his inſtruction to a letter in the St. James's Chronicle of Tueſday, Auguſt 24. That letter ſhews how baſely, and unlike a Chriſtian he has acted towards Biſhop Hurd, and it ſhould teach him to oppoſe with more decency and leſs ſcurrility reſpectable gentlemen who may differ from him in opinion.

Birmingham, ——— 1790.

About the Thurſday following, Dr. Marſh and Mr. Roberts called on me, and Dr. Marſh told me that Mr. C. had been a day or two before ſpeaking very freely and very angrily (N. B. Dr. Marſh at Coventry ſubſtituted the word 'warmly') of the ſteps I had taken in behalf of Mr. Dormer, that he had derived ſome of his information from Mr. Daniel of Warwick, that he had charged me with writing in my own hand a contemptuous letter to the Mayor, and that Dr. Marſh, who had been with me in the room at Warwick, had endeavoured to ſet him right, and to convince him that my firſt wiſhes pointed to reconciliation, and that my whole behaviour was conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of propriety.

This intelligence confirmed my ſuſpicion; for I ſaw that Mr. Curtis had no *very favourable* diſpoſition towards me, and I obſerved that the arrival of the Birmingham letter was not very remote from the Solyhull converſation which Dr. Marſh had reported.

I did not give the ſlighteſt hint of the letter to Dr. Marſh; but I reſolved to employ farther meaſures for tracing out the author. As the letter mentioned a publication in the St. James's Chronicle, I wrote to a friend in London, who, in a few days, ſent me the paper, in which I found the very abuſive and ſtupid letter to which my anonymous correſpondent had referred me.

I therefore determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of going to Solyhull-Green, and by aſking *what* papers

papers were taken in the town, I meant to find out the particular paper which Mr. C. took.

This intention I put in execution either on the Tueſday following, or on the Tueſday ſe'nnight. I did not, however, meet Mr. C., who, it ſeemed, had company at his houſe. But I aſked ſome general queſtions of Mr. Eyre, and, *without diſcloſing my purpoſe*, I diſcovered, that Mr. C. took in the very paper which is alluded to in the anonymous letter I had received. My ſuſpicion was now very ſtrong indeed, and I determined to take ſome farther ſteps for aſcertaining the writer.

In the month of September I dictated a letter to be tranſcribed by Mr. Heming, a former pupil, who was then on a viſit to me, and he carried it with him to Lindley, with directions to bring it back to Hatton, when he viſited me again before his return to Cambridge in October.

Anonymous letter ſent by Dr. PARR.

ONE who has had occaſion to witneſs the party and petulant ſpirit of the Rector of St. Martin's, Birmingham, begs leave to aſſure the reverend convert, that the perſon for whoſe Chriſtian edification he is ſo officiouſly zealous, does not vouchſafe to receive inſtruction from newſpaper critics, or from anonymous counſellors. He looks upon ſuch critics as buſy ſcribblers, and of ſuch counſellors he muſt always ſpeak as ſpiteful ſlanderers. In regard to the controverſy ſubſiſting among ſcholars, (N. B. Theſe two or three words were by miſtake omitted by the amanuenſis,) he thinks it a waſte of time to correct the blunders of thoſe *reſpectable*, or rather ſelf-reſpected or ſelf-created *gentlemen*, who certainly are not ſcholars, and who cannot be ſo properly ſaid to "differ with him in opinion," as to be without any ability to form any opinion at all upon any literary ſubject.

Imputations

Imputations of "ſcurrility" when proceeding from *ſuch gentry* he receives with perfect indifference, becauſe he cannot ſo far forget the dignity of his own character as to imitate the pert, and violent, and impotent language, which he is ſometimes compelled to hear, and which paſſes unnoticed from the mere inſignificance of the ſpeaker. As to decency, it will be time enough to ſay any thing about that virtue to the Rector of St. Martin's, when they who are flippant enough in uſing the word, ſhall have given the ſlighteſt proof of their capacity to practiſe, or even to underſtand, the thing; and it is from the ſame ſpirit of compaſſion mingled with juſt contempt, that, for the preſent, no pointed obſervations are made upon the cowardice, and the meanneſs of ſending anonymous letters. But if detection does not intimidate the offender from a repetition of his offence, he muſt look for a more ſevere and more ignominious chaſtiſement than mere retaliation.

Mem.——This letter was ſent from Newmarket, by my order about the beginning of November, 1790.

Mr. Heming * viſited me again in October—— he brought back the letter, and he was finally directed by me

* About the beginning of this year when the ſequel to Mr. C.'s ſtatement was expected by ſome perſons to be publiſhed, I had intelligence of reports, both in converſation and by letter, that the innocence of Mr. Curtis was cleared up even to my own ſatisfaction—that the real author of the anonymous letters was diſcovered, nay, that he had voluntarily made himſelf known to me—that he was one of my own pupils—that he was the very perſon whom I had employed to write for me to Mr. C.—that in my anſwer to the firſt anonymous letter, he found materials for his own pleaſantry when he ſent me the ſecond—that his name was Mr. Sheridan, &c. &c.

Theſe reports were both ſilly and falſe. I found it, however, neceſſary, while I was abſent from Hatton, to give them an unqualified negative, and upon my return from London, I received ſome information which led to the following correſpondence.

Copy of my letter to Mr. Anneſley.

Sir,

I take it for granted that you will do me the favour of anſwering this

me to write it over again, and to put it with his own hands into the poſt at Newmarket, if he could—I was

this letter in the ſame open and manly ſpirit of juſtice, with which I write it, and with which every kind of intercourſe ought to paſs between one gentleman and another.

Permit me then to lay before you part of a letter which was ſent to me from a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Solyhull, and is dated Feb. 23, 1792. His words are theſe——

"I think it neceſſary to inform you, that Mr. C. proclaims that Mr. Anneſley, ſon to Lord Valencia, told him at Warwick, that Mr. Anneſley dined at the time of the election at Warwick, and that he then heard young Sheridan mentioned as writer of the ſecond anonymous letter, which had been attributed to Mr. C. I never could learn who ſaid ſo to Mr. Anneſley."—Such, Sir, are the words of my correſpondent. After aſſuring you that Mr. Sheridan is, in my opinion, utterly incapable of ſuch baſeneſs as to write anonymous letters, and that till within theſe two or three months, he had not even heard of any ſuch letters having been received by me, I muſt beg leave to addreſs to your candour the following queſtions:

Did you, about the time and the place above-mentioned, hear that Mr. Sheridan was the writer of the ſecond anonymous letter, or of any other which I ſuſpect to have been written by Mr. C.?

Did you at any other time, or in any other place, hear ſo?

Did you at Warwick, and in the election-week, communicate to Mr. C. what you had heard of Mr. Sheridan?

Do theſe words, imputed by my Solyhull correſpondent to Mr. C., agree with the words which Mr. C. heard from you?

If they do not agree, in what particulars, and to what extent, do they differ?

If they do agree, permit me, Sir, as the guardian of my pupil's reputation, to aſk you very ſeriouſly, what authority you had for fixing upon Mr. Sheridan the guilt of writing an anonymous letter to me, and for imparting this intelligence to Mr. C. who was intereſted in turning it to his own advantage, and who is ſaid to have diffuſed it through the whole neighbourhood; from whence the ſtory has made its way to Oxford, and to London, in both of which places more or leſs of it reached my ears, without the addition of your name, which was announced to me only laſt week?

The ſituation in which I ſtand, makes it neceſſary for me to preſerve a copy of the letter which I now do myſelf the pleaſure of addreſſing to you; and as the ſubject is before the public, you will not be ſurpriſed at my accuracy in the inveſtigation of a tale, which, if it were ſupported by ſolid evidence, would reſcue Mr. C. from my ſuſpicions, and expoſe me to the mortification of finding an impertinent and an ungrateful calumniator in an old and a favourite pupil, whoſe good ſenſe, good nature, and affectionate attachment to me have hitherto entitled him to more than a common ſhare of my regard.

was not very well the night before he left me, and while I was in bed he read me the letter———I desired

gard. I am, therefore, perſuaded that, in juſtice to Mr. Sheridan, to Mr. C., and to myſelf, you will favour me with a very ſpeedy and a very explicit anſwer, ſuch as becomes your own dignity, and ſuch as is due to the ſacred intereſts of truth.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

S. PARR.

Feb. 28. Hatton near Warwick.
The Hon. G. Anneſley, Upper Arley near Bewdly.

Sir. Arley. March 1ſt 1792.

I yeſterday received your letter, and moſt certainly will ſatisfy you to the beſt of my power. To do which I ſhall ſimply anſwer each paragraph, as I conceive your (to me anonimous) correſpondent, deſerves no better for pointing me out as the author of ſuch a report—

I did not about the time, and at the place you mention (Warwick election) hear that Mr. Sheridan was the writer of the ſecond anonimous letter, which you ſuſpect to have been written by Mr. Curtis———

I did at ſome other time, and in ſome other place hear ſuch a report. I cannot ſay where, but I believe before I came into this country———

I do not recollect whether I mentioned the report to Mr. Curtis if I did it muſt have been ſlightly as I never cared to inform myſelf on the ſubject—and am totally ignorant of the grounds of the diſpute———

I have now Sir as fully as in my power anſwerd your queſtions——

I beg leave to obſerve that I cannot but be ſurpriſed at the dictatorial manner in which the above queſtions are urged, it ſeems Sir ſo little in the ſtile with which one gentleman ought to addreſs an other, that I deſire you will particularly obſerve, that it is only for the ſake of my own character, which I think would be degraded by interfering in the diſpute, that I now declare—that I have not directly or indirectly interfered on this occaſion—that I have heard ſuch a report as you mention and may have repeated it *as a report.* but that I never was the author of it.

I have the Honor to be
Sir
Your Moſt Obedient
& Moſt Humble Servant.

George Anneſley.

Copy

fired him to leave out the name "Rector of St. Martin's," and to insert in one sentence a few words which

Copy of my answer to Mr. Annesley, dated March 5th.

Sir,

I do myself the pleasure of writing to you again, in order to thank you for the *amusement*, rather than the satisfaction, which your answer, dated March 1st, has afforded me, to inform you, that both this, and my former letter will, in all probability, be committed to the press, and to submit, Sir, to your choice the alternative of having either the substance, or the very words, punctuation, and orthography of your own letter committed to the public. After noticing the precipitation, or perhaps the *forceness*, which induced you to suppose that you had been either represented by my correspondent, or addressed by myself, as the *author* of the report about Mr. Sheridan, I beg leave to tell you that, in consequence of your youth, and some other circumstances, which, in politeness and compassion, I forbear to enumerate, the concluding paragraph of your letter stands a chance of being exempted from those animadversions, to which it is unfortunately, but justly, exposed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
S. PARR.

Here closed my correspondence with the Hon. Mr. Annesley about the Rev. Mr. Curtis.

Now it is to be observed, that the reports above mentioned are at variance with each other: that some account for both the anonymous letters, and others only for one: that some throw the guilt upon a nameless pupil, and others upon Mr. Sheridan: that the letter which I wrote to Mr. C. specifies very few of the particulars which are to be found in the second anonymous letter sent to me, and, therefore, could not supply materials for that second letter: That Mr. Sheridan, who is accused of writing it, never was employed as my amanuensis, and for more than ten months was wholly ignorant of my dispute with Mr. C.: That my letter to that reverend gentleman was dictated in September, 1790, to Mr. Bartlam of Merton College, Oxford, and transcribed in the following November by Mr. Heming of St. John's College, Cambridge: That both these gentlemen have too much honour to insult me with anonymous letters, and too much taste to find even a disguise in the vulgar style of Monitor: And, finally, that there is no foundation whatsoever for the report which Mr. Annesley, perhaps, communicated to Mr. C., which Mr. C. is said to have proclaimed among his acquaintance, and which many persons in the neighbourhood are known by me to have heard with surprise, and some to have believed without examination.

were

were omitted——but we had no pen and ink in the room, and I afterwards found that he had forgotten theſe two directions——In omitting the name, I meant to treat Mr. C. with delicacy, and in ſending the letter after ſo long an interval, and from ſo diſtant a place, I paved the way for further diſcovery; for if this anſwer directed to Mr. C. were ſoon followed by *a ſecond anonymous letter* to me, I could have little doubt who was the auther of the firſt; and from Mr. C.'s warmth of temper I ſuppoſed that he would be thrown off his guard, and that, with a few diſguiſes, he would again endeavour to annoy me.

In this expectation I did not think myſelf wholly diſappointed, for Mr. Heming ſent my anſwer from Newmarket early in November, and ſoon after I received a ſecond anonymous letter by the London poſt. It is dated November 11th, but was received November the 15th, and from this interval I inferred, that it was written in one place, and put into the poſt at another.

It runs thus:

LONDON, 11th of *Novem.* —90.

I SO frequently hear your name called over here, and with ſo many marks of reprobation, that as an acquaintance, I cannot forbear the communication—— You are ſtiled an inſolent, abuſive high prieſt, a ſtranger to all good manners, and daily having the doors of the whole county ſhut in your face.

It is further ſaid, that you thruſt yourſelf under the appearance of ſome man's umbra into all public companies, and particularly at Birmingham, where it is reported, you hang yourſelf upon private families for three weeks together; your language is ſaid to be ſo ungentlemanlike, that it is determined, I hear, that you ſhould either be turned out, or have the chamber-pot emptied over you *. Shocking are theſe ſounds to a man who has often aſſociated with you; though I ever

* This indeed would be a formidable operation, if performed by Monitor. On his mother's ſide, he is lineally deſcended from the

ever thought you turbulent, and nearly deſerving Pope's definition of a great wit! You are alſo threatened with a public expoſal in the public prints, the firſt of which appeared this day, indeed with great ſeverity, and I own *partly* has been the occaſion of this intimation.

Yours, &c.

MONITOR *.

Mem.—Received Monday† the 15th of November.

The very quick arrival of this letter, for which indeed my mind was prepared, naturally aſſociated my ideas of its author with the writer of the former letter. It not only breathes the ſame or even a worſe ſpirit of unkindneſs, but it takes up the *ſame invidious topics*. The writer, though he *dates* his letters from London, introduces the mention of Birmingham, which had *alſo* been introduced in a former letter. He alludes to my being in public company there, which Mr. C. knew——He ſpeaks of my being three weeks in a private family, which as to particularity of time and of ſituation are very marked circumſtances, and were known very well to Mr. C., who had called upon me *during* that viſit and in that private family.

He acknowledges having aſſociated with me, which, *in a limited ſenſe of the word*, Mr. C. may be allowed to have done. He again threatens me with thoſe newſpaper attacks in which my Birmingham correſpondent had before triumphed. He talks of my being an *umbra*,

" Juno of majeſtic ſize," whom Curl " led ſmiling away," as the reward of " happy impudence;" and, on his father's ſide, he poſſeſſes by right of inheritance, the Jordan beſtowed upon " Oſborne, through perfect modeſty o'er-come."

* It probably will be a greater amuſement to my correſpondent Monitor to read, than to apply the following lines;

I know thee now, both what thou art, and who;
No maſk ſo good, but——muſt ſhine through.
Falſe names are vain. Thy words their author tell;
Thy beſt concealment had been writing well. YOUNG.

† Though received on the Monday, it probably came to Warwick on the Sunday, if *ſent* from London.

which

various papers, by the attacks let looſe upon his character, and by the outrages meditated againſt his perſon. In addition to theſe ſeverities, he, by the loſs of thoſe papers, was at *ſuch* a criſis expoſed to *inviſible* and irreſiſtible evils, from inviſible and innumerable quarters. He might ſuffer from private malignity what public juſtice could not inflict. The ruffian, the goſſip, and the informer, had invaded that aſylum, which the laws had made ſacred from the intruſions even of the magiſtrate. Senſible, therefore, as I was, of the confidential intercourſe that ſubſiſts between men of letters, I foreſaw, that he might be loaded with reſponſibility for unpopular or novel tenets, which his friends had communicated to him, and to which he might not himſelf in every inſtance, or to every degree of extent, accede.

I knew that the Birmingham riots were diſtinguiſhed from the London riots by many ſingular and many hideous circumſtances; by a ſeeming regularity of contrivance—by a "ſtrange chaos of levity and ferocity" in the execution—by reports* of debility, reluctance, and outrageous

* Whether theſe reports be well or ill founded it is not for me to determine. But ſure I am, that no blame can be laid on the venerable judges who preſided at Worceſter and at Warwick. And I am happy to ſay, that the gentlemen of the grand jury in this country, deſerve the thanks of the community, for their upright and impartial conduct. Remembering the eſcape of other, but, perhaps, not better men, I rejoice moſt ſincerely at the pardon of the two criminals condemned at Warwick, though I confeſs that the enquiry made into the caſe of one of them *after his condemnation* was a very unuſual and a very ungracious meaſure. As to the unhappy wretches who ſuffered, I lament that their execution at a place ſo diſtant from the ſcene of their crimes, tended to weaken the ſalutary and awful effects of public juſtice; and I am ſorry to add, that their *general* depravity of conduct being aſſigned as a reaſon for their excluſion from the royal mercy, has drawn off the attention of the common people from their guilt in the riots, to their other and lighter offences. The king, doubtleſs, has upon this occaſion done his duty, as he had wiſely done it before in London, where ſeveral perſons not as partizans, but as magiſtrates, not as joining in the vulgar cry, but as neglecting to quell it, not as abetting the riots, but as afraid of the

 rioters,

outrageous partiality in the adminiſtration of public juſtice—by the temporary extinction of common prudence, common juſtice, and common humanity in private companies—by the moſt ſhameleſs language of triumph in ſome diurnal and monthly publications *, which have a wide, and in this caſe, I fear, a baleful effect upon national opinion—and by veſtiges of ſuch remorſeleſs and ill-diſguiſed approbation in certain well educated men †, here and elſewhere, as in times paſt would

riotors, were notoriouſly deſerters of the public cauſe. But the Warwickſhire buſineſs, after all, is dark, *very dark*, and calls for a ſtrict inveſtigation in Parliament. I ſhould do great injuſtice to Lord Aylesford, and four or five country gentlemen who interpoſed during our riots, if I did not add, that they are entitled to the thanks of their neighbours and the praiſe of their country, for their courage and for their humanity. I cannot, however, diſſemble the concern I felt at ſome injudicious expreſſions, which, from the dreadful confuſion of the moment, were admitted into one of the addreſſes ſigned by their very reſpectable names. But this overſight will be forgotten or forgiven, when the purity of their motives, and the activity of their exertions, ſhall be remembered to their honour. What I have ſaid of Lord Aylesford and the country gentlemen who acted with him, is ſaid ſincerely and juſtly. But addreſſes to mobs are ſubject to the ſame inconveniences with remonſtrances to kings and petitions to parliament. In all of them may be found ſignatures of the *Megarenſian* ſort, which, therefore, among men of ſenſe, are οὐ ἐν λόγῳ, οὐδ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

* In the miniſterial papers there were inflammatory predictions of tumults long before the riots, and after them was aſſumed a yet more audacious language of approbation. It is eaſy to account for ſuch writers, however reproachful it may be to a Chriſtian country, that they found employers and readers. But that a magazine, of which I know the conductor to be a man of ſenſe and honour, ſhould admit any juſtification of the offenders or any triumph over the ſufferers, is indeed ſurprizing. "Let Paine, let Prieſtley, let all the Unitarians, and all "the Revolutioniſts be condemned for their opinions, but for Heaven's "ſake Mr. Urban, let no man ever be warranted in bringing either of "theſe two charges againſt the Gentleman's Magazine, that it puts a "firebrand into the hands of a mob, and calls upon them to execute "juſtice, or that it encourages the doing of a great and poſitive evil "to prevent an uncertain one." (Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1791, page 1007.)

† Far be it from me even to inſinuate that this was generally the caſe. All the better, and much the greater, part of that claſs of men, to

would have ſteeled the heart for participation in the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, in the fires of Smithfield, and in thoſe human ſacrifices which the Chriſtian world has often ſeen exhibited as acts of faith, by the holy order of St. Dominic. Pudet hæc opprobria, &c. All theſe ſymptoms of decay in the ſpirit of ſocial union, and of Chriſtian charity, I knew, I lamented, and upon proper occaſions I have *moſt pointedly condemned*, ſometimes by remonſtrance in converſation, and ſometimes by inſtruction from the pulpit *.—But in reſpect to Dr. Prieſtley, whatever may be his demerits, and whatever may have been his ſufferings, I really thought, that, after his flight, he had nothing farther to apprehend from thoſe enemies who were actuated by the feelings of gentlemen, or by the principles of Chriſtians. As the fury of the ſtorm had ſubſided a little, and as the miſchief had exceeded the probable expectation, and even the profeſſed wiſhes of thoſe, who called *themſelves* the advocates for Church and King, I flattered myſelf that public zeal would be tempered by ſome portion of private virtue, and that compaſſion itſelf, if not reſpect, would by degrees pave the way to juſtice. Whether I conſidered Dr. Prieſtley as a celebrated man, or as an injured man, or as a ſuſpected man, I diſtinguiſhed between the deliberate meaſures of an individual, and the impetuous

to whom I allude, would, I am ſure, " have diſavowed with horror " thoſe wretches who claimed a *fellowſhip* with them upon no *other* " *titles* than thoſe of having *pillaged* perſons, with whom they main- " tained controverſies." Page 222, of Burke's Reflections.

* I have great ſatisfaction in ſaying, that the ſentiments of my pariſhioners, though very friendly, as I truſt they always will be, to the intereſts and the honour of our eccleſiaſtical and civil eſtabliſhments, were, in one or two inſtances only, marked by that ſanguinary ſpirit of violence which had pervaded other parts of the country. I am bound, alſo, to add, that the ſtrenuous and kind aſſiſtance which many of them gave my family in the hour of danger, will ever endear them to their miniſter, and entitles them to commendation from all well wiſhers to the Church and State, in whom zeal is united with knowledge, and knowledge has been productive of charity and vital religion.

paſſions of the multitude *; and with this diſtinction before me, I ſhould have pronounced that *every* letter of Dr. Prieſtley's found in *every* place, would have been received for him without heſitation, preſerved for him without inſpection, or tranſmitted to him without delay, *by every honeſt man of every political and every religious party*. Nay, in the confined circle of my own acquaintance at Birmingham, I could have pointed out ſeveral warm but worthy churchmen, who would have ſpurned the idea of reading letters which they had no right to open, of ſuſpecting letters which they had no right to read, and of forwarding letters, which, without opening and reading them, they probably could have little right or little temptation to ſuſpect; for Dr. Prieſtley's correſpondence, it is well known, extends to the orthodox and to the heterodox, to loyaliſts and to republicans, to ſcholars of every claſs, and to citizens of almoſt every country. Even as to Mr. C. himſelf, though I held no very exalted notions of his delicacy, and though I was no ſtranger to his alacrity in oppoſition to a ſect *which included among its members his father, and neareſt relations*; yet, upon the evidence of others, I could not have believed without effort the account which he at Solyhull gave of himſelf, and which, upon my hearing it, equally overwhelmed me with aſtoniſhment, and fired me with indignation.

Mr. C., in his printed narrative of my memorial, repreſents me as reporting of Mr. C. that "he had ſaid,

* To reflecting minds the riots at Birmingham will not be altogether without uſe. They prove the *exiſtence* and the violence of that odious ſpirit which many good men were diſpoſed to think extinct, and which it is the duty of all good governors to watch, to diſcourage, and to controul. I will hazard the imputation of quaintneſs, in applying to theſe diſturbances what Ovid himſelf has quaintly ſaid of the conflagration occaſioned by Phaeton:

——incendia lucem
Præbebant, aliquiſq; malo fuit uſus in illo.

"that

" that if any of Dr. Prieſtley's letters or papers came " into his hands, he ſhould think himſelf juſtified in " peruſing them, and if in his opinion they were of " a dangerous tendency, he ſhould think himſelf " bound to ſend them to government." But the reverend gentleman has unfortunately fallen into two inaccuracies, as every reader may perceive when he looks into my memorial; for that memorial ſtates the firſt article *differently*, the ſecond it does *not ſtate at all*, and my reaſon for omitting the ſecond was, that it had not effaced the impreſſions made upon my mind by the firſt.

Mr. C.'s words, I diſtinctly remember, were theſe: " If any of Dr. Prieſtley's letters or papers ſhould come " into my hands, I confeſs that I ſhould have the cu- " rioſity to read them." Theſe were the words which Mr. C. uſed, and theſe were the words which ſurpriſed and offended me.

The converſation about ſending letters to government came on afterwards. It ſprung out of my objections to the propriety of reading them. It was originally ſtarted by one* Alderman Curtis and myſelf, and it was afterwards purſued by the Rev. Mr. Curtis, in common with both of us. From me, however, it produced no admiſſion of Mr. C.'s right to read ſuch papers under *any* circumſtances. On the contrary it implied, in my conception at leaſt, that, *if* there ſhould be ground for thinking they contained criminal matter, the perſons into whoſe hands they came, *inſtead* of reading them † ſhould ſend them to ſome great

* With the leave of the Rev. Mr. C. I hold this *Unitarian* language about his brother merely from motives of reſpect, juſt as I ſhould ſay of other uniques, there is one Newton, one Milton, one Locke.

† With all the airy confidence which a coxcomb would aſſume in laying down ſome trite and indiſputable propoſition, Veritas ſays, " Now, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. C. having received by poſt a written let- " ter under a blank cover, he muſt neceſſarily have peruſed it." I will amend the propoſition, and ſay that Mr. C. having received *per poſt*, and under a blank cover, a letter which he knew not to be

great officer of ſtate, who doubtleſs would be warranted in reading them. Such was the real courſe of the converſation, and it was a natural courſe, as flowing from my objection to Mr. C.'s firſt intention of reading Dr. Prieſtley's letters from motives of curioſity, as ſtated by himſelf at Solyhull.

When the characters of *ſome* of the parties are conſidered, it will hardly be expected that our converſation abounded with logical preciſion, with legal knowledge, or with profound political remark. It was, indeed, vague and deſultory enough, and therefore, no enquiry was made as to the particular *manner* in which Dr. Prieſtley's letters might come into any perſon's hands, or as to the ſpecific *reaſons* which might produce ſuſpicion *before* peruſal. Even Mr. C., whom I at firſt had preſſed upon the ſubject of curioſity, and whom I afterwards did not think it worth while to oppoſe upon the ſubject of duty, gave no intimation of what *he* thought an honourable or a diſhonourable method of getting poſſeſſion of Dr. Prieſtley's letters. But the obvious ſignification of his firſt words was, not, indeed, that he would advertiſe a reward or break open a caſket to procure Dr. Prieſtley's letters, but that he would receive them, if ſent to him, by known

his own, and which was legibly directed, it ſhould ſeem, to Dr. Prieſtley, the ſaid Mr. C. was not under any degree of moral neceſſity to peruſe it, and *might* be under ſome degree of moral obligation *not* to peruſe it. Dr. Prieſtley's ſuppoſed opinion about metaphyſical neceſſity could not be more dangerous than the opinion of Veritas about practical neceſſity, if it were taught in any books of canonical authority. But as Veritas is a ſort of apocryphal writer, I ſhall treat him with leſs ceremony, and, availing myſelf of the freedoms which are allowed towards a nameleſs ſcribbler inſulting the public with ſenſeleſs traſh, I ſhall ſay, "Mr. Veritas, if you *do* think ſo, you have not written very good ſenſe, and if you do *not* think ſo, you have told an untruth." Transfuſed into that Doric dialect which ſounds more agreeably to the ear, and glides more readily from the tongue of many perſons, my language would run thus, "You are a ſottiſh blockhead, or an impudent lyar."—But when I was ſpeaking of Mr. C.'s *advocate*, I ſacrificed the ſpirit, and retained the ſubſtance of this dilemma; and ſurely Mr. C. will excuſe me, when I prefer the ſoft and flowing meaſure of the Ionic to the rougher and louder notes of the Doric.

or unknown perſons, and that he would read them, if, peradventure, he ſhould himſelf have found them in a private garden or in a public highway. As, therefore, Mr. C. did not limit his meaning, I took his words, according to their fair and common acceptation; though, from the intelligence which he communicated at our interview, I afterwards ſaw the reaſon of what he did *not* ſay at Solyhull, as well as of what he *did* ſay at Coventry. He at the former place felt himſelf under no obligation, and certainly he was under none, to explain in what manner letters *might* come into his hands; but at the latter place he ſuppoſed that ſome *purpoſe* of his own might be anſwered, by revealing the manner in which letters actually *had* come into his hands. At Solyhull, he confeſſed what he *would* do from the impulſe of *curioſity*, without attempting much vindication; and as to what he afterwards talked of doing from motives of *duty*, there was little room for defence upon his part, becauſe there was little appearance of oppoſition upon mine. In the progreſs of the converſation, he certainly, in a general and indiſtinct way, did make ſome mention of duty; but he neither generally, nor particularly, *retracted* what he had ſaid upon his curioſity at the beginning of the converſation. What he did not retract, I ſuppoſed him yet to maintain; and what I ſuppoſed him to maintain, I cenſured him for maintaining in that very memorial, of which his deſcription *ſtates what was properly omitted, and miſrepreſents what was properly ſtated* in it.——

The reader now perceives the impreſſions that were made upon my mind, when I heard Mr. C.'s converſation at Solyhull, when I reflected upon it, and when I drew up my ſtatement before the interview at Coventry—I ſaw curioſity preſſing too cloſely behind a phantom of duty, and loyalty wandering too far from the ſociety of honour *,

During that interview, it appeared that Mr. C. *had* " received two papers of Dr. Prieſtley's incloſed in a

* But perhaps (as Mr. C. once ſaid of himſelf) I was miſtaken.

blank cover, and ſent to him *per* poſt, and that he had forwarded the letters to Mr. Pitt and ſome other reſpectable gentleman under government." Be it ſo. Yet, ſurely, my ſtatement is founded upon the converſation *alone*, and upon *one part*, too, of that converſation. But, amidſt all the particulars of that converſation, it was impoſſible for me to infer the whole of what Mr. C. meant from the whole of what he ſpoke; to infer one *particular* method of getting Dr. Prieſtley's letters into his hands from a *general expreſſion* which was equally applicable to many methods; to infer the *fact* of his *having* received, read, and forwarded, two papers, which upon *reading* them he thought criminal, from the *ſuppoſition*, that he *would* receive and forward any papers, and a ſuppoſition, too, in which the circumſtance of criminality, I well remember, *was not expreſsly connected with the act of reading.*——

Indeed, if Mr. C. had acted in ſtrict conformity to the purport of the latter part of the converſation, he would have forwarded the letters *without* reading them, on the bare preſumption, that they *would* not have been ſent to him unleſs they had been thought criminal; and from the conviction, that in exploring the criminality of their contents, the vigilance of government was more intereſted than his own curioſity or his own duty. I acknowledge, however, that he did not, in *expreſs terms*, give up his *right* to read any papers which might be ſent to him. Very true.—Neither did he, in expreſs terms, *aſſert* ſuch a right; neither did I expreſsly, or by implication, *admit* ſuch a right; neither did he, in expreſs terms, or by implication, *diſavow his willingneſs to inſpect, from curioſity*, ſuch letters as might be taken up by himſelf. If, therefore, I am to argue to what he *would do, both from what he ſaid and forbore to ſay*, I muſt ſuppoſe, that, *whether* Dr. Prieſtley's letters were found by himſelf, or ſent to him by other perſons, the ſight of Dr. Prieſtley's name would have awakened ſuſpicion, and ſuſpicion would inſtantly have led to inſpection. Again, if I had known at Solyhull, as I afterwards *did* know at Coventry, the meaſures Mr. C. had really taken, what muſt have been my inference from the

Solyhull

Solyhull converſation, with this additional intelligence? It would have been plainly and ſimply this.—Mr. C. not having unequivocally and formally renounced his right to read Dr. Prieſtley's letters in *any* caſe, he is *diſpoſed* to exerciſe that right, when impelled by curioſity, as he actually *has* exerciſed it, when guided or miſguided by a ſenſe of duty.

When Mr. C. in converſation told our Coventry friends and myſelf of the ſtep he had taken about Dr. Prieſtley's letters, and of his reaſons for taking it, he certainly had *ſome* meaning in the communication, and that meaning probably was, that, when I knew of his conduct towards Dr. Prieſtley, I ought *no longer* to preſs it to his diſadvantage. The plea appeared to me ſo ſtrange, and ſo futile at the time of its being produced, that I diſdained to lay it proſtrate by refutation. But as he lately has made it, in his own words, "more public," I am bound to conſider how far it was likely either to amount to a juſtification of Mr. C. in my ſight, or to relieve him from the preſſure of a circumſtance, which had given new ſtrength to my ſuſpicions about the author of the anonymous letters. Mr. Curtis has *forced* upon me the neceſſity of ſuch an examination; and, therefore, if in conducting it I ſhould ſay any thing that diſpleaſes him, he will permit me to obſerve, that it is ſaid from motives of ſelf-defence. Had Mr. C. followed the prophet's advice, "to ſit ſtill in his ſtrength," I ſhould have been content with holding that private opinion which I produced in my ſtatement, but did not intend to produce elſewhere.

As the explanation of Mr. C. includes facts, which being formerly *unknown* to me, could not influence my mind in writing the ſtatement, ſo when thoſe facts became *known* to me, they did not anſwer the end of *vindication* for which they were communicated. The propriety of reading letters *ſent* to Mr. C. by others, is ſcarcely leſs doubtful than the propriety of reading letters *found* by Mr. C. *himſelf*. A good man would, I think, *pauſe* upon his right to inſpect the contents of *any* letters, if he knew from the *ſuperſcription* that they belonged

belonged to a gentleman, by whom they had been *publicly claimed*, and to whom they might have been *eaſily conveyed*. His delicacy would have been encreaſed by his compaſſion, when he reflected on the *diſaſtrous events*, in conſequence of which thoſe letters had come into the hands of ſtrangers. Greater ſtill would have been his ſcruples, if he knew himſelf inveſted with no permanent office of magiſtracy, and, *perhaps*, no temporary commiſſion from government. In the abſence of a *known public duty* he would have felt the obligations of *private* duty yet *ſtronger*, when he conſidered, that the papers were ſent to him under a cover, which, having no *ſignature*, could not fix any *reſponſibility on the perſon who had ſent them*, and which gave no *intimation* of criminal contents, to excite the inquiſitiveneſs, to rouſe the fears, or even to alarm the *tender conſcience* of the perſon to whom they were ſent.—

While Dr. Prieſtley is not publicly charged with any overt-act of diſobedience to the laws of his country, and where intimation has not been given of dangerous contents in his letters, no Gentleman, though he *were* a magiſtrate, would be haſty in ſending them to government, and perhaps no magiſtrate, though he were *not* a Gentleman, would find himſelf quite juſtified in detaining them from their *lawful owner*.—Now, Mr. C. is *not* a magiſtrate—but a clergyman he is; like every other clergyman, too, he would wiſh to be conſidered as a Gentleman; and indeed I am myſelf perſuaded, that in his calmer moments of reflection, Mr. C. is not wholly incapable of liberality, nor wholly inſenſible to the benign influence of religion.

But farther.—Mr. C., as I before ſaid, at Solyhull ſpoke at *firſt* of his *curioſity*, *as an individual*; but at Coventry he, for the *firſt time*, enlarged and inſiſted upon *his duty as Rector of St. Martin's*; and after explaining, by a *fact*, what would have equally juſtified his converſation at Solyhull on the ground of mere

ſuppoſition,

ſuppoſition, he did not attempt to leſſen the amazement which his declaration was likely to excite in the minds of his hearers.—He did not claim the merit of having *united* ingenuouſneſs to a fellow-citizen, with loyalty to the ſtate. He did not profeſs to have given *any notice* of this extraordinary proceeding to Dr. Prieſtley, to the *very man*, be it obſerved, whoſe perſonal character, in the very eſtimation of Mr. C. himſelf, was deeply intereſted in the contents of thoſe letters; to the very man, whoſe friendly as well as whoſe ſelfiſh feelings muſt have been wounded by their unexpected fate; to the very man, whoſe legal claim to the poſſeſſion of them had been aſſerted in the public papers, and, perhaps, could not be diſputed by Mr. C., *even in his rectorial capacity*.

Such are my ſentiments both upon the curioſity *, and upon the duty of Mr. C. In the indulgence, and the very exiſtence of ſuch *curioſity*, I ſaw *weakneſs*, if not unkindneſs. About the exiſtence of ſuch *duty*, many honourable men may ſtill have their doubts, like myſelf; and even in the diſcharge of it, they may, like myſelf, diſcern little merit, becauſe the obligation to *return* ſuch papers, ſcattered by *ſuch tumults and received under ſuch circumſtances*, was *nearly as* clear as the obligation to *read, and to forward* them; becauſe private letters, by the general conſent and general practice of mankind, are ſeldom treated with ſo much rigour, except in caſes of urgent and *indiſpenſable neceſſity*; and becauſe in *this* caſe there appears no other evidence than the *opinion* of Mr. C., that ſuch a terrible neceſſity exiſted, or, if exiſting, that ſuch neceſſity *alone* influenced his conduct. Indeed, Mr. C. told us at Coventry, though he does *not* tell us in his printed paper, that "he was perhaps miſtaken." I do not concern myſelf with the cauſe of this *omiſſion*; but

* Curioſity is well defined by an old writer.
Ἡ πολυπραγμοσύνη φιλομάθειά τις ἐςὶν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν, ὀυτε φθόνου δοκοῦσα καθαρεύειν νόσος, ὀυτε κακοηθείας.
Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 515.

his

his words are well remembered by others, as well as by myſelf, and I muſt confeſs, that the plea of *poſſible* error in a caſe of ſo much delicacy was neither a palliation of his conduct, nor a proof of his repentance.—

But, though I ſhould grant the duty on which Mr. C. inſiſted, to have really exiſted, and to have been faithfully performed, I muſt yet maintain, that Mr. C. has given an incorrect repreſentation of my memorial, for I muſt again deſire the reader to obſerve, that in that memorial I have mentioned only Mr. C.'s curioſity, and that I have already aſſigned my reaſons for not referring to other parts of the Solyhull converſation. The queſtion by Mr. C.'s ſtatement is, indeed, ſhifted from the point of curioſity, which, by the way, he *never diſavowed*, to the point of duty *, which he has both condeſcended to explain and endeavoured to vindicate. Still, however, I am under the neceſſity of confeſſing, that a private individual, who thinks himſelf authorized, not only to read private letters ſent him by an unknown hand, but to forward them to government upon the ſtrength of his own private judgment, holds opinions not quite ſimilar to my own, in reſpect to politeneſs as a gentleman, to liberality as a partizan, and even to fidelity as a loyaliſt. Mr. C., therefore, may *now* ſee, that his plea, as the Rector of a large pariſh in a large town, does not, in my judgment, confer upon him the high privileges, nor impoſe upon him the ungracious, but ſometimes neceſſary, employments of a magiſtrate. He may farther ſee, that having thought ſomewhat ill of him for profeſſing to indulge his curioſity, I do not begin to think well of him for having diſcharged what he *calls* his duty.

* I will tell not Mr. Curtis, good man! but thee, O reader, (" for *thou* canſt read,") how the writer before quoted treats this ſpirit of duty. Τὸν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ χόρῳ ᾠόδα τιθέντα, περίεργον ἢ παροιμίᾳ καὶ γελοῖον ἀποδείκνυσι.

Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 540.

If

If Mr. C. attended to my memorial, and attending to it, underſtood it; and underſtanding it, meant, as I ſuppoſe he did, to *explain himſelf* in anſwer to it; the amount of his explanation is this: "You, Dr. Parr, are confirmed in your ſuſpicions, by what I ſaid that I *would* do from curioſity, and upon *that* ſubject I ſhall neither defend my words, nor abandon my principle. But, I will tell you what I *have* done from duty—I have received two letters under a blank cover. *Knowing* whoſe they *were*, but, *not* knowing their *contents*, I proceeded to read them. In conſequence of reading them, I thought the contents criminal, and in conſequence of thinking them ſo, I ſent the letters to government, without giving notice of what I had been doing to the perſon, whoſe intereſt and reputation were deeply concerned in the effects of this meaſure." What then muſt have been the effect of ſuch a plea upon my mind?

If in my ſtatement I, among other reaſons, have profeſſed ſome diſtruſt in Mr. C.'s word, becauſe he had ſaid, that he *would* read Dr. Prieſtley's letters, how could I be expected to believe him at the interview, *becauſe* he there declared, that he *had both read and forwarded* them?

If I found far *too little* ſaid about curioſity, and nothing ſaid *ſatisfactory to my mind* about duty, why ſhould I think better of Mr. C. than I thought before?

If Mr. C.'s explanation proved him to *have* taken a meaſure yet *ſtronger* than that which I ſuppoſed him *inclined* to take, why ſhould he blame me for not relinquiſhing my ſuſpicions, when, in the very act of endeavouring to *remove* them, he had given me additional reaſon for *retaining* them?

In plain truth, Mr. C.'s "wiſdom" ſeemed to me to be "conſumed in his confidence *." I looked upon him, as exerciſing his ingenuity, at the expence of his judgment—I thought, that he had formed his defence out of the very materials, which an antagoniſt of leſs

* Shakſpeare in Julius Cæſar.

ſkill

ſkill and leſs hardihood than himſelf would have employed for his condemnation.

It is pleaſant enough to trace the *gradation* of diſcovery.—At Solyhull Mr. C. haſtily tells us, that he *would* read Dr. Prieſtley's letters for the gratification of *curioſity*. Then he, at Coventry, deliberately tells us, that he not only *had* received and read them, but that he had forwarded them to government from a regard to *duty*. At laſt, Veritas, ſomewhat *incautiouſly*, gives us to underſtand, that Mr. C. did not part with the originals before he had taken a *copy*. But whether he took it, as he took the ſignatures of our witneſſes, to ſatisfy the enquiry of his private friends; or whether he will uſe it, as he uſed thoſe ſignatures, to convey, in his own good time, intelligence to the public, we are not diſtinctly informed. To me, however, it *ſeems*, that Mr. C. read the letters from curioſity or duty, that he forwarded them from duty, and copied them from curioſity—But I am ſorry that a writer ſo illiterate, ſo illogical, ſo illiberal, as Veritas, ſhould have been *permitted* to announce a tale of ſuch magnitude.

Shall he, like Curtius *, deſp'rate in his zeal,
O'er head and ears plunge for the common weal,
Or rob Rome's ancient geeſe of all their glories,
And, cackling, ſave the monarchy of Tories?

When Veritas very openly affirms, that the letter-writer's name reſembles the word *ſtone*, I ſhall make no apology for borrowing Mr. C. words, and aſſerting, that he "as much as inſinuates" that Stone deſerves the pillory, or the gallows. "True," Veritas may reply, "but I have not ſaid ſo upon *conjecture*." I grant it; but it may be, that the affirmation of

* Some manuſcripts make this word a diſſyllable, not very unlike in ſound to Curtis. But Curtius, I am ſure, is the true reading, as every body knows, who has dipped into the Roman hiſtory. Whether Engliſh hiſtory will record the generoſity of Mr. C., in his Birmingham ſubſcription, is yet uncertain. But it is equally preſumptuous in Veritas to imitate the patriotiſm of Curtius, or the zeal of Mr. Curtis.

Veritas

Veritas reſts upon *ſomething* yet more precarious than conjecture, and more unkind than ſuſpicion. When, therefore, an unknown writer brings a charge of this kind upon unknown authority, or when he profeſſes to *know* only that Mr. C. pronounces the contents ſeditious, but *not* to know that Mr. C. will *prove* them ſo, every man of virtue will toſs away ſuch defamatory prattle with ſcorn. If Veritas has *not* ſeen the letters, he has ſaid too much, and if he has ſeen them, he ſays too little, becauſe a general charge of this nature unqueſtionably *ſhould* have been, and eaſily *might* have been, illuſtrated by ſome particular inſtances.—Again, if Veritas had *not* Mr. C.'s conſent to ſay ſo much, he has betrayed a confidential ſecret; and if he *had* Mr. C.'s conſent, he has diſgraced, perhaps, an important truth. Let it be remembered, that in the ſtrong reſemblance which the letter does or does not bear to the hand bill, the public loyalty, the private honour, and the perſonal ſafety, of a ſuſpected man, are eventually concerned. Let his guilt be proved in a ſolemn court of juſtice—let it be puniſhed with the extreme rigour of the laws—let it be authenticated by the real name of the accuſer—but by anonymous goſſips in newſpapers let it not be inſinuated, or if ſo inſinuated, let it not be believed by honeſt men.

With Mr. C.'s behaviour about theſe letters I have no *other* concern, than as it affects myſelf in this very unpleaſant diſpute. Once more, therefore, I will call the attention of Mr. C. to the reaſons for which I have entered into ſo full a diſcuſſion of his explanation. When that explanation was brought forward, at Coventry, ſoon after the reading of my memorial, it was meant to convince me, that a fact, ſtated in that memorial, ought not any *longer* to produce on my mind the effect which it had produced.—But not having ſo convinced me, the ſame explanation is now laid before the public, probably with a deſign, and certainly with a tendency, to criminate me for not abandoning my ſuſpicions. I am, therefore, not only

only authorized, but compelled to examine its real force. But in ſo doing I do not profeſs to plead Dr. Prieſtley's cauſe—I do not mean to extenuate the criminal contents of his correſpondent's letter.—I do not wiſh to hurt the feelings of Mr. C. But I do intend to juſtify my own conduct. If the bare *word*, and even the ſolemn aſſeveration of Mr. C., did not entirely ſatisfy me, his proceedings about the letters were very unlikely to *leſſen* my diſſatisfaction.

The next paſſage of Mr. C.'s ſtatement on which I think it neceſſary to animadvert is this: "The ſecond anonymous letter expreſſed ſome abuſive matter reſpecting Dr. Parr's having lived upon a certain perſon, in making a three weeks viſit at Birmingham; and alſo behaving himſelf *unſeemly* in ſeveral companies at that place."

My viſit at Birmingham was paid to a gentleman whom I ſhall always eſteem for his good manners, for his hoſpitality, for the cheerfulneſs of his temper, and for the vivacity of his converſation. It was paid at his requeſt, it was prolonged at his requeſt, and I had no cauſe to imagine that the ſame ſtay which was ſo agreeable to myſelf, could be diſagreeable to him. During that viſit I went both into private and into public companies; and in all of them I was treated with a degree of civility, and even of reſpect, which I ſhall always be happy to recollect and ready to acknowledge. Never did I, intentionally, give offence in any one company, or to any one individual, and once only did I *take* offence, on being obliged to leave a room in conſequence of ſome improper converſation from two gentlemen whoſe names I will never reveal, and to whom their friends juſtly give credit for their intellectual attainments, and for their convivial powers—I had the pleaſure of converſing with many gentlemen of good ſenſe, good nature, and good breeding; but I ſaw one perſon only, whom I expect ever to think capable of writing anonymous letters.

Mr.

which is rather the language of academics, than of the common inhabitants even of large towns. He refers to Mr. Pope's definition of a wit, which is a *display of deep reading*, perhaps more to be expected from Mr. C. than from many of his parishioners. He informs me, that my being "exposed in the public prints with "great severity, was *partly* the occasion of the intimation he had given me." Now the word "partly," I would observe, is a very significant one, and its significance has been *incautiously* marked by a line drawn under it in the letter itself, by the writer himself. The counter-part, indeed, is not openly expressed, but may be easily supplied. The *letter* says, that the newspapers were *partly* the occasion of its being written, and the *letter-writer* felt at the same moment, that my answer to the first letter which he had lately received, was *partly* another occasion; and thus, by having said one thing emphatically, he led the mind of the reader to another, which he was afraid of saying openly. This accounts for the increased scurrility, to which, as I thought, the writer was impelled, not only by habitual prejudice, but by *recent provocation*.

As to the employment of a different hand-writing, and the date from a different place, they were very shallow artifices indeed. The circumstances of time, of temper, of style, of allusions to Birmingham, and of exultations about the newspapers, were more than sufficient to counter-balance all considerations of this kind. Though the fear of a second detection, and a second chastisement might have suggested to the writer, the necessity of *shifting*, or *seeming* to shift, his scene of action, yet the very *attempt* at *any* disguise is in itself suspicious; and the particular sort of disguise used by my correspondent, does little credit to his sagacity; for, in the first place, how comes my London correspondent to address me so very *soon* after I had sent the letter to my supposed correspondent at Birmingham? Or, secondly, how should a person, resident in London, *know* so minutely that I had gone into public company

with Mr. Brooke at Birmingham, and had ſtaid three weeks at his houſe? Or, thirdly, ſuppoſing him to know all this, why ſhould he care ſo much about what I had done and ſaid in my neighbourhood, when my literary and my political characters were far more likely to attract the notice of a London correſpondent, and to ſupply materials for impertinent reproaches? In fact, thoſe very reproaches were at that very time to be read in the newſpapers, and a Londoner would have been content either to tranſcribe them particularly, or to refer to them generally, *without* adverting to local events.

But *no* alluſions whatſoever had been made to Birmingham in any newſpaper *before* the arrival of the ſecond anonymous letter, none were made *at the time* of its being ſent, and *if* any ſhould in future be made, no perſon of common ſenſe, knowing what may have paſſed at our preſent interview, could have a moment's doubt as to the ſource whence they flowed. Inſtead of confuting theſe obſervations, ſuch alluſions would, from the mere circumſtance of *time*, eſtabliſh them. By appearing *hereafter*, when I have particularly *remarked* that they had not once appeared *before*, they would be proofs, *not* diſguiſes, as to the reality of the author.

Having with ſucceſs tried the effect of a letter from myſelf to Mr. C., I determined to make the *contrary* experiment of ſilence, and this experiment has alſo ſucceeded not leſs than the former.

Now I will recapitulate.

Soon after I diſpleaſed Mr. C. at Warwick, in conſequence of what he *did* ſay to me, and about the time when he had been cenſuring me before Dr. Marſh, for what I did *not* do to others, I received the firſt anonymous letter.

Soon after I had anſwered that letter, I received a ſecond anonymous letter, conceived in the ſame ſpirit, and containing many of the ſame particulars with the firſt.

Long after the arrival of the ſecond letter, and during my

my ſilence in conſequence of it, I have received *no* anonymous letter.

Between theſe events, diſtant as they may ſeem to be in time and place, there muſt be ſome connection of cauſe and effect.

My ſecond correſpondent from London takes fire within *a few days* after the arrival of my firſt letter to my ſuppoſed correſpondent at Birmingham; but for the ſpace of eleven months, during which ſpace I have not written to the Birmingham gentleman, the London gentleman remains quiet. Being detected, or being in danger of detection at Birmingham, he flies for ſhelter to a date from London. Not being detected, or not thinking himſelf in danger of detection in London, he enjoys his triumph contentedly. By the firſt letter he gratified his reſentment. By the ſecond, he not only gratified his reſentment, but corrected, as he thought, his former miſtake in dating from Birmingham; and he does not write a third, probably, leſt a new effort ſhould betray him into new danger.

From all theſe circumſtances I infer identity of perſon, and that perſon I believe to be Mr. C.

To theſe my reaſons, which I think very numerous and very powerful, Mr C., I am aware, may oppoſe denial, and to that denial, I am afraid, Dr. Parr cannot give his aſſent.

Every anonymous writer *has* an advantage, and *knows* that he has it, in the difficulty of *direct and complete* detection. But as cunning is ſhort-ſighted, and as anger is precipitate, he ſeldom conſiders, that the place of direct proof may be pretty well ſupplied by circumſtantial proofs, which in *the preſent* caſe, are neither few nor frivolous. One great diſadvantage to perſons ſuſpected of ſuch a fault, is that *few* men who are *capable* of writing anonymous letters, will acknowledge *having* written them; and therefore mere denial muſt derive its efficacy, either from the weakneſs of circumſtantial evidence in any particular caſe,

or from the previous opinion which we have formed of the ſuſpected perſon's honour, and which, *if* it be *favourable*, may have *ſome* weight in counteracting circumſtances where they are ſtrong.

Now I might not think very reſpectfully of Mr. C. *before* I ſuſpected him of writing an anonymous letter and *after* ſuſpecting him upon *ſuch* grounds, and amidſt *ſuch* circumſtances as are mentioned in the ſtatement, I muſt be permitted to ſay, that I cannot ſuppoſe an anonymous writer quite incapable of endeavouring to ſhelter himſelf by ſome deviation from truth, when he is waging war with circumſtances and preſumptions in the *known abſence* of complete and direct proof. I ſhould not have made this harſh obſervation, if the object of the preſent interview had not extorted it from me in the courſe of ſupporting my ſuſpicions. I did not ſolicit that interview for the purpoſe of offending Mr. C. by any impeachment of his veracity. But in juſtice to him, I have attended the meeting which he himſelf either propoſed or approved; and in juſtice to my own cauſe I cannot conceal the foregoing reaſons, which will influence my behaviour when we have met. As to myſelf, I never calumniated any man in anonymous newſpaper paragraphs of any kind, nor did I ever write, or cauſe to be written an anonymous private letter, except in this one inſtance, where I had myſelf been firſt attacked, and have ſince voluntarily avowed my retaliation.

It is neceſſary for me to add, that I am not influenced in my opinion of Mr. C. merely by the reaſons already enumerated, but by a very alarming expreſſion which he lately uſed in my preſence, when I was obſerving that Dr. Prieſtley's private letters, after being torn from their receſſes, had been demanded by their legal poſſeſſor; and when Mr. C. to my great aſtoniſhment, and to my great ſorrow, "confeſſed, "that if any of them came into his hands, he ſhould "have the curioſity to read them." In the aſſertions of a perſon, who not only held, but avowed

ſuch

ſuch an opinion, I cannot repoſe much confidence; particularly *when he is an intereſted party.*

Perhaps I ſhould be wanting in politeneſs to Mr. C., if I did not explain the reaſons for which I bring this ſtriking fact to his recollection. What Mr. C. by his own confeſſion would have done to Dr. Prieſtley's letters, is not immediately connected with the fact of writing thoſe letters, which I *believe* Mr. C. to have written to me. But it is ſuch a mark of ſentiments widely different from thoſe I entertain about the duties of clergymen and gentlemen, as indirectly ſtrengthens my opinion of the perſon ſuſpected by myſelf, and ſuch, too, as directly warrants me in receiving his denial with conſiderable diſtruſt, eſpecially where his acknowledgement is hardly to be expected as an *homage* to circumſtantial evidence; and where his *character*, in *conſequence* of ſuch acknowledgement may be materially affected*.

* There is one great leading conſideration which pervades the whole ſubject; and to which every reader of diſcernment will pay full and ſteady attention. Mr. C. calls upon me to admit his innocence upon the authority of his own affirmation, and in oppoſition to that circumſtantial evidence which led me to think him not innocent. Now, before I can be reaſonably expected to believe Mr. C., he muſt poſſeſs, and he, alſo, muſt be *known by me* to poſſeſs an ample fund of reputation, not only for candour, but for magnanimity, not only for contempt of undeſerved reproach, but for firmneſs under that which might be deſerved, not only for veracity in the ordinary concerns of life, but for ſuch a degree of fortitude as would ſupport him under the extraordinary difficulties of his ſituation, if, being really guilty, he ſhould confeſs his guilt. A good man in ſome moment of anger may be ſuppoſed capable of writing an anonymous letter, for which, upon ſerious reflection, he would condemn himſelf; but he muſt be a very good man indeed, who, by confeſſion, would expoſe himſelf to the condemnation of other men. " I wrote the anonymous letters in the blindneſs of " reſentment, I denied having written them through the weakneſs of " fear, I acknowledge my offence in all its aggravations to the man " whom I have injured and attempted to deceive; and though moroſe " or unfeeling obſervers will haraſs me with invective, yet my con- " feſſion will, in the eſtimation of the candid, expiate my guilt." He that holds ſuch language would be ſomething more than men uſually are. But he that would reſiſt it when holden, is far leſs a man, than I know myſelf to be.

Whether or no the gentlemen preſent concur with me in my application of this fact to Mr. C.'s honour, they will ſee abundant reaſons for my *ſuſpicions* about his conduct to me.

END OF THE STATEMENT.

ON coming to that part of the ſtatement which related to the introduction of the rector of St. Martin's name in the letter which Dr. Parr had cauſed to be written to him, Dr. Parr offered to go into the evidence which he had brought with him for the purpoſe of ſhewing that, from motives of prudence and delicacy, he had directed the name of the rector of St. Martin's to be omitted, and that for the unauthoriſed inſertion of it his amanuenſis alone was reſponſible. Mr. C., who had appeared very attentive to this part of the ſtatement, thought it unneceſſary for Dr. Parr to read the explanatory letters, and accordingly they were not read.

Dr. Parr made no obſervation whatſoever upon his own ſtatement, in the accuracy and the ſtrength of which he had a perfect confidence. But Mr. C. *inſtantaneouſly* admitted the great and extraordinary force of the evidence; he ſeemed to be ſtruck very much, but not ſolely, by the circumſtance of time in the arrival of the ſecond anonymous letter ſent to Dr. Parr ſo ſoon after the letter he had ſent to Mr. C.; but he peremptorily and ſolemnly denied having written the anonymous letters, having cauſed them to be written, and even having *known* * that they were written till Dr. Parr's ſuſpicions were communicated to him.

Dr. Parr made no anſwer whatſoever.

* *This* ſtrong and remarkable word is *omitted* in that part of Mr. C.'s ſtatement, where he ſummons his whole ſtrength to ſhew the force, the fullneſs, and the ſolemnity of his denial. Whether this omiſſion is to be aſcribed to forgetfulneſs, or to deſign, I dare not determine. Unqueſtionably it has excited ſurprize in three of my witneſſes, as well as myſelf; and it deſerves attention from the impartial reader. Mr. Curtis, therefore, will excuſe me for the frequent and the pointed notice that has been taken of it in this pamphlet.

This

This firſt denial of Mr. C. was accompanied by a very ſerious mention of his being a young * man; of his filling a reſpectable ſituation in this county; of his owing a great regard to the preſervation of his own character, which was hitherto untainted; of his having ſhaken hands with Dr. Parr ſeveral times; and of his wiſhing to live with Dr. Parr upon neighbourly terms.

This part of the converſation was heard by Dr. Parr with becoming attention, but did not ſeem to call for any particular notice. Dr. Parr knew that Mr. Curtis was not an elderly clergyman—he was no ſtranger to the value of the two livings which Mr. Curtis poſſeſſed, and one of which he was ſaid to have obtained by legal and fair purchaſe—he had the ſame ſort of reſpect for the wealth of Mr. C., which he had for the mere wealth of any other man—he was very ſenſible of the regard which every clergyman, and eſpecially a clergyman ſo amply benefiſced, muſt owe to the preſervation of his character—he knew of nothing flagitious in the conduct of Mr. C.—he remembered, not only that he had ſometimes met Mr. C. in private and in public company, but that he had alſo behaved to him according to the eſtabliſhed rules of politeneſs—he was conſcious alſo of not having violated the plain and uſeful laws of *good neighbourhood*. *But* he had never profeſſed the ſmalleſt friendſhip for Mr. C., nor had he ever ſought for thoſe opportunities of mutual intercourſe, by which mere acquaintance gradually approaches to intimacy.—Such were the thoughts which paſſed in Dr. Parr's mind, though they were not expreſſed at the interview.

Mr. C. declared, that he knew nothing of the letter alluded to in the St. James's Chronicle, which declaration Dr. Parr neither admitted nor oppoſed explicitly, though he certainly thought it ſtrange that Mr. C., who takes in the St. James's Chronicle, and is probably Mr.

* I might, therefore, ſay of Mr. Curtis,

Νέος πέφυκας· πολλὰ καὶ μαθεῖν σε δεῖ,
Καὶ πολλ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ διδάσκεσθαι μακρά.

Fragm. Soph.

Baldwin's *Conſtant Reader*, ſhould have overlooked or forgotten the abuſe upon a neighbouring clergyman contained in that very paper, which was of importance in the preſent diſpute.

Mr. C. being aſked by Dr. Parr whether he had received the letter which Dr. Parr avowed, anſwered in the affirmative; and upon being further aſked by Dr. Parr whether he had brought that letter with him, he ſaid, No:—adding, "that he believed he had it not, "and that he poſſibly* had given it to a friend who was "not now in the country." Dr. Parr made no remark on this anſwer, though he undoubtedly was of opinion that Mr. C., having had timely notice of the intended meeting, might have been diſpoſed to bring the letter with him, and might even have ſent for it to the friend into whoſe hands he had committed it. Mr. C. moreover ſaid, that *he would give fifty pounds* to recover the letter. Dr. P. was forcibly ſtruck with this expreſſion, and found himſelf rather at a loſs to reconcile it to the preceding parts of Mr. C.'s converſation about the poſſible diſpoſal of the letter. His deſire, however, was more to hear than to debate; and therefore leaving the ſubject of the letter in the *obſcurity* into which Mr. C. himſelf had thrown it, he contented himſelf with offering Mr. C. a copy from the tranſcript which Mr. Eyre had read.—But Mr. C. did not take the proffered copy.

Mr. C. began to ſpeak rather in the language of crimination againſt Dr. P. for having ſent him an anonymous letter; to which Dr. P. briefly replied, that he "had voluntarily avowed his own letter, and that he had written it on a ſuppoſed provocation from Mr. C." The latter, in *very ſtrong* terms, ſaid, that "Dr. P. ſhould have gone to him upon the very firſt ſuſpicion, and called for explanation." But Dr. P. looking upon

* Mr. C. here accounted in two ways for not having the letter, but ſaid not one word of a third, or even a fourth ſuppoſition, which he had mentioned to Dr. March before the interview. See Dr. Marſh's evidence.

this

this merely as Mr. C.'s idea of what ought to have been done, and having, from his own judgment, purſued what appeared to him a better courſe, ſaid not one word in vindication of what he had done, or in reply to what Mr. C. wiſhed him to do.

Mr. C. afterwards repeated his denial in terms of very great ſolemnity * indeed, and he evidently *paſſed* Dr.

* I did not meet Mr. C. for the purpoſe of acquitting or condemning him. I did not directly aſk him whether he was innocent or guilty, and much leſs did I mean to diſtreſs him by requiring from him an oath. The only appeal, *if* I had been diſpoſed to make any, would have been made to his honour; and by his honour, *if I had* appealed to it, I ſhould have been ſatisfied.

Mr. Curtis, I believe, is not much acquainted either with the treaſures of Greek literature, or even with the hiſtory of Greek writers. But for the amuſement of my readers, many of whom, till lately, were as much ſtrangers to the name of Mr. C., as Mr. C. is to the name of an ancient gnomologiſt, I will ſelect a few paſſages on the ſubject of oaths; and in order to ſhew my impartiality, I will produce thoſe which are in Mr. C.'s favour, as well as thoſe which are in my own. The lines in which Mr. C. would triumph, if he underſtood them, ſhall be honoured with the firſt place, and for his convenience ſhall be printed in a more legible character. And I hope that the Rev. Clerk will excuſe me for diſguiſing in Greek letters the ſentences which are not quite favourable to the cauſe of oaths.

Horkos bebaios eſtin, en neuſo monos.
Alexis, alias Mr. Curtis.

Hoſtis gar omnuonti meden peithetai,
Autos epiorkein rhadios epiſtatai. Amphis.

Deſpoin', hotan tis omnuontos kataphrone,
Hô me ſunoide proteron epiorkekoti,
Houtos kataphronein tôn theôn emoi dokei,
Kai proteron omoſas autos epiorkekenai. Antiph.

Horkou de proſtethentos epimeleſtera
Pſuche kateſte, diſſa gar phulaſſetai,
Philon te mempſin, k'eis Theous hamartánein.
Soph. in Hippodam.

Οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὅρκοι πίστις, ἀλλ' ὅρκων ἀνήρ. Æſch.

Où

Dr. P. for a declaration of the effect which ſuch a denial had produced upon his mind; and *then* Dr. P. finding himſelf *thus urged*, anſwered in a very calm manner, "that he yet believed Mr. C. to be the author of the letter."

Mr. C., as might naturally be expected, grew warm at this *extorted confeſſion*, and urged Dr. P. for his reaſons; but Dr. P. refuſed to give any *other* reaſons than thoſe he had aſſigned in his written ſtatement.——

Some altercation now took place about the meaning of the word 'believe,' which was explained by the gentlemen preſent, without the ſmalleſt interference of Dr. P., and to the apparent conviction of Mr. C., to ſignify no more than that Dr. P. continued to ſuſpect Mr. C.—The converſation immediately after this was chiefly conducted by Mr. C. and Mr. Mackintoſh; and Mr. Mackintoſh endeavoured to ſhew Mr. C. upon general principles, that one gentleman ſuppoſing another to be capable of writing an anonymous letter, and poſſeſſing what he thought ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect him of *having* written one, was very unlikely to be convinced by his *mere aſſertion*. In this part of the converſation Dr. P. took little or no ſhare, but upon two or three incidental points he ſpoke to the following effect, "That Mr. C.'s aſſertion might be true; that "he wiſhed it to be obſerved of himſelf, that he did

Οὐ τοῖς γὰρ ὀμνύσι τὸν φρονοῦντα δεῖ,
Τοῖς πράγμασιν δ' αὐτὸν δίσι πιστεύειν ἀεί.
Alexis in Olynthiis, not Mr. Curtis in his ſtatement.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὸ εὔορκος εἶναι αὑτοὺς, παραινοῦσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ, κὴ τὸ ἀρχὴν μηδ' ὑπετέως ὀμνύναι, ὅσιον ἀποφαίνομαι.
Euſebius.

If Mr. Curtis had followed the wholeſome advice contained in this latter ſentence, he would not have driven me to the painful neceſſity of diſtruſting in ſome degree what he ſaid at Coventry. But he may be aſſured that I ſhould pay great reſpect to any oath which he might take deliberately in a court of juſtice, where the act of taking it would be more decorous, and the occaſion, I ſuppoſe, more important.

"not

"not mean to give Mr. C. the lie, that he had heard "one very ſolemn declaration of Mr. C. with an awe- "ful impreſſion, that he did not conceive the reaſons "for his general opinion of Mr. C. to be at all a "proper ſubject for diſcuſſion at that time, that after "being called upon once by Mr. Yates, and more "than once by Mr. C., to aſſign thoſe reaſons, he "ſhould perſiſt in *not* aſſigning them, and that he "could only refer the gentlemen preſent to the ſtate- "ment which he had read."

Once, when Mr. C. had previouſly aſked Mr. Mackintoſh, whether his denial ought to be admitted by Dr. P., the Doctor, for the firſt, or rather, only time, aſked Mr. Mackintoſh, what effect had been produced upon his mind by Dr. P.'s ſtatement? Mr. Mackintoſh acknowledged the force of the ſtatement, but declined giving any direct anſwer to Mr. C. about the authority of *his* denial. Mr. Mackintoſh then ſaid, what he afterwards enforced and illuſtrated, that it was not for *him* to declare what *he* might think of Mr. C.'s *veracity*, but to conſider in his own mind what, under *all the circumſtances*, Dr. P. was likely to think of it. To this Dr. P. aſſented. But he did not aſk any gentleman, except Mr. Mackintoſh, what conviction his ſtatement had wrought on their minds, and he TWICE deſired the gentlemen preſent to *obſerve*, that "he had not in the ſmalleſt degree attempted to convert them to his own particular diſtruſt of Mr. C.'s word, by any other reaſons than thoſe which he had found it neceſſary to introduce into his written ſtatement."

He, however, perceived that Mr. Eyre *voluntarily and explicitly admitted* the force of the circumſtances; he did not hear either Mr. Yates or Dr. Marſh ſay, that they were *not* forcible; and while Mr C. was converſing with Mr. Mackintoſh, Dr. P. heard Mr. C. *again* declare, that Dr. P. had ſtrong reaſons for his ſuſpicions.—

Mr. Yates continued to think and to ſay, with Mr. Curtis, that Dr. P. *ſhould* bring forward his reaſons,

as

as founded upon general opinion; and though Dr. Marſh did not expreſsly contend for the neceſſity of Dr. P.'s producing ſuch reaſons, yet in talking with Mr. Mackintoſh he ſtated, that unleſs Dr. P. did produce them, he thought the ſolemn denial of Mr. C. muſt have its *influence* on thoſe perſons, who *not* knowing Dr. P.'s reaſons, could not be influenced by them. Dr. P., however, refuſed to go into a diſcuſſion which he thought both unneceſſary and *invidious*, and Mr. Mackintoſh was avowedly of Dr. P.'s opinion. The *only* object for which Dr. P. had met the gentlemen upon his own part, was, as he had himſelf ſtated, to prove that he had reaſon *to ſuſpect* Mr. C., and this Mr. C. had himſelf admitted ſo far as even to confeſs that under the "*ſame circumſtances he ſhould have entertained the ſame ſuſpicions of another man.*"—Dr. P., therefore, conceived, that by ſhewing attention when he did not feel conviction, he had fully diſcharged his duty as a gentleman.

Upon the firſt denial he had been ſilent.—After the ſecond denial, when urged to give his opinion, he had given it calmly; and to moſt of the ſubſequent denials, though accompanied with *defiance*, and ſometimes with *menace*, Dr. P. thought it unbecoming his dignity, and extraneous to the purpoſe of the meeting, to make any reply, either offenſive or defenſive.—

The moſt remarkable part of Mr. C.'s menaces was to the following effect: "If, after this ſolemn "denial, you dare to introduce this converſation into "any company, you muſt take the conſequences." Dr. P. had himſelf uſed no one expreſſion which could juſtify ſuch language from Mr. C. Upon hearing that language he neither promiſed to conceal, nor threatened to proclaim, the ſtory of the anonymous letters; and, in truth, he afterwards was *amuſed* rather than ſurpriſed, to hear from Mr. C.'s own mouth, that Mr. C. himſelf had reſolved to be the herald of a tale, which, as Dr. P. conceived, might not in *all* companies redound to his honour. But to the threat of taking

taking the conſequences, be it again obſerved, he oppoſed upon his part *no* threat whatſoever. Mr. C. then ſaid, "I expect you, after this ſolemn denial, to "beg my pardon." But Dr. P. ſtill thinking himſelf *injured*, and ſtill feeling himſelf *unconvinced*, anſwered, "That I certainly will not do;" and Mr. C. replied, "If you do not, I ſhall ſay you have treated "me like a blackguard and a raſcal." Dr. P. remarked only, "That he thought this language extremely vio-"lent, and could not prevail upon himſelf to adopt it." At the ſame time he perceived, that in Mr. C.'s language, there was ſome kind of *uncertainty* to *whom* the word raſcal was to be applied. He did not, however, *then* demand any explanation; but when Mr. Mackintoſh and Mr. Eyre had *led the way* to a declaration on the part of Mr. C., that Mr. C. *himſelf* was the perſon who had been treated like a raſcal, *then* Dr. P., who had taken ſome alarm, though he expreſſed none, at this diſplay of *familiar* language from Mr. C., obſerved, that "the ambiguity was *now* removed." He diſdained, however, to vindicate himſelf from ſuch an imputation, and he would have been very unwilling to retort it upon Mr. C., even if Mr. C. had *profeſſedly* meant to apply it to Dr. P. The Dr. had occaſion again to expreſs himſelf "ſorry to hear ſuch intempe-"rate expreſſions;" and though he perſiſted in ſuſpecting Mr. C., he neither directly, nor indirectly, uſed any word which implied any *aſſent* upon *his* part to the formidable conſequence of raſcality drawn *by Mr. C. againſt Mr. C. himſelf.*

While Mr. C. was converſing with Mr. Mackintoſh * mention was again made of the anonymous letter

* It is not for me to decide upon the reaſons which might induce Mr. C., in his ſtatement, to avoid the mention even of Mr. Mackintoſh's name; but few readers will ſuppoſe him to have forgotten what he has been pleaſed to omit. Perhaps, the Rev. Gentleman was unwilling to inform the public, that his moral poſitions were not always approved, and that his logical proweſs was more than once defeated by

letter which Dr. P. had cauſed to be written and had avowed. Dr. P. ſtated, that he had never meant to make any ſecret of the letter, and that he had even ſhewn it to a few of his confidential friends, both before and after it was ſent. He, however, did not enter into any debate. But Mr. Mackintoſh and Mr. C. went very fully into this topic, and at laſt it ſeemed to be ſettled to the entire ſatisfaction of all parties, that Dr. P.'s letter had none of the criminal properties of an anonymous letter. The ſubject was not taken up a third time by Mr. C., and, indeed, upon the firſt mention of it, Dr. P. conceived the matter too clear to require from him much explanation, or any defence; though, if Mr. C. had been pleaſed to diſcuſs with Dr. P. any pointed expreſſion in the letter ſent to him, Dr. P. was prepared to give Mr. C. ſuch anſwers as were conſiſtent at once with politeneſs and ſincerity.

Mr. C. in his converſation with Mr. Mackintoſh declared, that "he would publiſh the treatment he "had received," and *more* than *once* he intimated his reſolution to "make known" that treatment, though without expreſſing the *form* of announcing it. No anſwer was given to theſe and other ſimilar words; but becauſe ſuch words had been uſed, the preſent ſtatement was prepared.

Dr. P., neither during his own nor during Mr. Mackintoſh's converſation with Mr. C., threw out any unpolite reflections upon Mr. C.'s intellectual or moral character. But Mr. C. repeatedly, and in a *ſignificant manner*, declared to Mr. Mackintoſh, his reverence for the *literary* character of Dr. P.—Dr. P., however, did not think it neceſſary to make any com-

by the perſon about whom he is ſilent. As a diſputant, he was compelled to feel, and as a Chriſtian, I would hope, he is now diſpoſed to *forgive*, the ſuperiority of his antagoniſt. But, as a faithful narrator, he ſhould have given ſome out-lines of the conteſt; and, as an ingenious rhetorician, he might have thrown the unfortunate iſſue into ſhade.

ment,

ment, either upon the *compliment* which was expreſſed, or upon the *cenſure* which was indirectly implied, in the *form* of that compliment. Dr. P. is not ambitious of promiſcuous praiſe upon the ſcore of his attainments, be they few or many; and his indifference to a tribute of commendation from Mr. C. aroſe, in a great degree, from the ſettled conviction of his own mind, that Mr. C. had juſt as much, and juſt as little, right to ſit in judgment upon Dr. P. in reſpect to his principles in the capacity of a gentleman, as in reſpect to his accompliſhments in the capacity of a ſcholar.

In the courſe of the very long converſation between Mr. Mackintoſh and Mr. C. ſome mention was made about Dr. Prieſtley's letters, and about the impreſſion that had been left on Dr. P.'s mind by Mr. C.'s acknowledgment, that he would read them if they came into his hands *. Mr. C. *confeſſed* having ſaid ſo in Dr. P.'s hearing. But did not on the preſent occaſion ſay in perſpicuous and direct terms, whether he would, or would not, read thoſe letters in the *circumſtances expreſsly and ſolely alluded* to in Dr. P.'s ſtatement. He further ſaid, by way of what he called *explanation*, that he "had forwarded to government two letters, "belonging to Dr. Prieſtley; that they had before "been ſent to him under a blank cover, and that from "his ſituation in this county as Rector of St. Martin's, "and from his opinion of their contents, he thought "it his duty, *though he might be miſtaken*, to tranſmit "them to miniſtry."

The converſation then went on in the following manner: Mr. Mackintoſh having obſerved, that it might be the duty of a magiſtrate to do ſo, Dr. P.

* Whatever my opinion may be about Mr. C.'s treatment of Dr. Prieſtley's letters, I certainly ſhould not have touched upon that diſagreeable topic, if it had not been mentioned in Mr. C.'s own printed paper; and I ſhould do him injuſtice, if I were not to add, that his behaviour during the melancholy ſeaſon of the riots was, in my opinion, blameleſs. I will not diſmiſs the laſt ſubject without noticing the meritorious conduct of that benevolent and truly honourable man, Captain Carver.

remarked,

remarked, "that Mr. C. was not a magiſtrate." When Mr. C. afterwards gave Dr. P. reaſon to underſtand, that he had actually ſent the two letters before the converſation at Solyhull, Dr. P. properly obſerved, that Mr. C. had not there told him of what had been done, and Mr. C. *as* properly anſwered, that he did not *then* think it neceſſary to tell him.—

Mr. C., while converſing with Mr. Mackintoſh, employed various arguments to ſhew the propriety of ſending the letters to government; and upon being aſked by Dr. P., whether he "ſuppoſed thoſe letters "to belong to Dr. Prieſtley," he replied, that it "was "not his buſineſs to enquire from whom they came, or "whoſe they were," and that he "thought it his duty "to forward them, becauſe they had been ſent to him, "and becauſe upon reading them, he found them to "contain ſuch particulars as were in his judgment "worthy to be communicated to government." He entered, however, into no detail of their contents. He mentioned not the names of their writers, and indeed no gentleman preſent put, nor had a right to put, any queſtion about either. He ſaid nothing, and nothing was aſked, about the *directions* of the letters, though probably thoſe directions ſhewed *to whom* they belonged.—But he had at firſt explicitly *called* them Dr. Prieſtley's letters; he did not afterwards ſay they were *not* Dr. Prieſtley's, and he virtually, though not in expreſs terms, defended his conduct on the general principle, that to *whomſoever* they belonged, he had received them from an unknown hand, and had employed them in a manner which *he* thought proper.

Mr. C., in a way ſomewhat *irregular and obſcure*, diſtinguiſhed between what he *had done* particularly, in forwarding thoſe letters, and what he ſaid at Solyhull *generally, about his intention* to read any letters which might come into his hands; and he, alſo, was pleaſed in this ſtage of the converſation to ſay, that his expreſſions at Solyhull "were haſty;" a word, by which the curioſity of Mr. C. ſeemed to be ſlightly

ly and obliquely cenſured, rather than ingenuouſly and totally diſclaimed. Dr. P., however, did not enter into the juſtneſs of Mr. C.'s diſtinction—he did not repeat, nor enforce, what was contained in his own written ſtatement. But he felt, that what Mr. C. from his own confeſſion had *really* done, was not, in Dr. P.'s eſtimation, much *more* defenſible, than what he had formerly at Solyhull acknowledged, that he *would* do.

Upon the ſubject of the letters much inveſtigation, and ſome debate, paſſed between Mr. Mackintoſh and Mr. C. Dr. P., however, ſaid only what has been already related; but neither the Doctor, nor any other gentleman preſent, made *one* unhandſome obſervation upon thoſe proceedings, which Mr. C. had voluntarily revealed and elaborately vindicated.

A good deal of looſe converſation afterwards went on, in which Dr. P. took no part, except that upon ſome occaſion or other he found an opportunity of ſaying to Mr. C., that wherever he met him he ſhould treat him with civility. Mr. C. when he was going away ſolemnly repeated his denial, politely expreſſed "his hope of living long enough to convince Dr. P. "that he was incapable of writing anonymous letters," and *ſuddenly* exclaimed, "I ſhall ſay that I have been "treated by you like a raſcal!"

Dr. P. wiſhed him a good night, and upon hearing again the intemperate words which had been ſpoken before, he ſaid, "You mean that you have been treated as if *you* were a raſcal," intending thus to avert the poſſibility of an affront to himſelf. Dr. P. certainly had no right to determine how far Mr. C. might think that this offenſive term was, in Dr. P.'s private opinion, applicable to Mr. C. But he, in fact, neither directly, nor indirectly, uſed this or any other word of reproach to Mr. C., during the whole progreſs of a various, an intereſting, and ſometimes diſputatious, converſation. At the cloſe of it, however, he thought it right that an opprobrious expreſſion, uttered at firſt

In reſpect to Dr. Parr's ſtatement about his ſuſpicions, which he may have occaſion to publiſh, it correſponds exactly with that he read at Coventry.

WILLIAM MARSH. *Nov.* 16, 1791.

[END OF THE NARRATIVE.]

UPON reading the foregoing narrative Mr. C. may be inclined to think, that in his printed paper, there are ſome material, though, I would hope, involuntary miſrepreſentations. He will, however, obſerve, that I have not expoſtulated with him upon many particulars, which, once for all, I here impute, and deſire others to impute, to the ſtrength of his prejudices, and the warmth of his temper, rather than to any depravity whatſoever in his principles.

During the interview, I did not expoſtulate with him in the indignant tone, which, as a "brother clergy-"man," I was authoriſed to aſſume, when I found that he had voluntarily impoſed upon himſelf the penance of ſuch duties, as, if undertaken by *other* men*, might have been thought to degrade the clerical character into a very cloſe reſemblance to the trade of an informer, or the office of an inquiſitor. I did not expoſtulate with him upon the fantaſtic and perilous conceit, that a town Rector, like Mr. C. ſtands, as ſuch, abſolved from thoſe ſacred obligations of private honour, which bind a village curate †, like Dr. P. I did not expoſtulate with

* I ſay this ſeriouſly and in juſtice to Mr. Curtis, becauſe I have no right to think that he would openly profeſs the trade, or deliberately aſpire to the office, of which I ſpeak in this ſentence.

† Such was my eccleſiaſtical rank when this paſſage was written, and though, by exchange of preferment, I have now the honour to be a brother

with him upon the clamours, he at this critical juncture might, from his peculiar, though ſincere opinion of duty, excite againſt the eſtabliſhment itſelf, by ſeeming to revive doctrines which that excellent eſtabliſhment, bleſſed be God! neither directly nor indirectly countenances—doctrines which long ſince have ſlumbered in oblivion—doctrines which, if ſeriouſly maintained, and generally practiſed, would be leſs ſpecious indeed, and leſs popular, but not leſs alarming to good citizens, nor leſs offenſive to good Chriſtians, than ſome chimerical and pernicious novelties of a modern commentator upon the rights of man.——

After reading what he and his witneſſes have written, after reflecting upon what he has ſaid and done, and after comparing the various parts of his conduct with the foregoing narrative, I *now* will not expoſtulate with him upon his blunder or his artifice, when he repreſents me as "having recourſe to two expedients" for the purpoſe, and, it ſhould ſeem, the ſole purpoſe, "of confirming myſelf in my ſuſpicions," when the real *object* of thoſe expedients was to diſcover whether I ought to perſiſt in ſuſpecting, and when a *different reſult* might have induced me not to ſuſpect. I will not expoſtulate with him on the inconſiſtency there is between his gloomy lamentation and obſcure replies as to his diſpoſal of the letter I had ſent to him, and the account which he had before given to Dr. Marſh, of his having committed it either to the flames, or to a certain place which my anonymous London correſpondent would have named without heſitation. I will not expoſtulate with him upon the *probability*, that of the *four* different ways in which he talked of the treatment ſhewn to that

brother Rector of Mr. Curtis, I beg of him not to be alarmed at my ſeeming approach to his clerical dignity. The preferment I now hold is accompanied by a very ſmall portion of that precious appurtenance, which is invidiouſly ſuppoſed ſometimes to endear the church to conformiſts, and ſometimes even to reconcile non-conformiſts to the church.

letter, *one* is *moſt reconcileable* to all the known circumſtances. I will not expoſtulate with him upon the *poſſibility*, that my letter was ſent to ſome acquaintance who now and then viſits him in the country; that this friendly-ſpirited and almoſt brotherly-minded, though *forgotten*, acquaintance, had loſt or deſtroyed it *after* the purpoſes for which he received it were *ſuppoſed* to be anſwered, and that with a generoſity which petty minds ſometimes borrow from cunning, he had determined to avenge Mr. C.'s cauſe, without involving Mr. C. himſelf in the guilt of *immediate* participation. I will not expoſtulate with him upon the *reaſons* which many perſons may have for not believing that he *could* be the author of that letter, even if to eſtabliſh his claim to it he ſhould cut off his right-hand *, or pluck out his right-eye. I will not expoſtulate with him upon the reaſons which he may *himſelf* have for omitting in his ſtatement the name of Mr. Mackintoſh, with whom he converſed more than with any other perſon at the houſe of Dr. Marſh: for omitting the ſtrong and pointed circumſtance of not even *knowing* that the anonymous letters had been written to me till he heard of my ſuſpicions: for omitting the *concluſions* which I had drawn from his curioſity, and from that *only*, when I mentioned the unfavourable effect which his declarations about Dr. Prieſtley's letters had made upon my mind. I will not expoſtulate with him upon thoſe churliſh menaces of a proſecution, which before the interview at Coventry he had uttered in the preſence of my high-ſpirited and ingenious friend Mr. Weſton, whom I am authoriſed to name, and of another gentleman whom it is needleſs to point out. I will not expoſtulate with him on the indelicacy of *procuring* ſignatures from Mr. Eyre and Dr. Marſh, for *one* purpoſe, and then *applying* them to *another*, without the permiſſion or know-

* Mr. Curtis's ſtatement.

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ledge of the parties. I will not expoſtulate with him upon the imprudence, not to ſay, the unfairneſs, of giving the authority of Mr. Eyre's name to a ſtatement in which that very Mr. Eyre had not only told him there were deficiencies †, but under the conviction of its being intended ſolely for the peruſal of Mr. C.'s friends, had obligingly offered to ſupply them. I will not expoſtulate with him upon his want of exactneſs, or his want of decorum, when in his written copy he applied to my viſit the word "ſpunging," which Mr. Eyre corrected. Finally, I will not expoſtulate with him upon the wide difference, which he muſt diſcover between his own printed paper on the one hand, and on the other, my narrative which three of the witneſſes have twice examined and approved; and alſo between that very paper and the ſpecific objections which thoſe very witneſſes have made to his own repreſentations. I forgive the defects of his memory: I lament the violence of his meaſures; and I add with ſorrow, that he has not yet begun to fulfil his prediction of convincing me, that he is incapable of writing anonymous letters. But I do not *charge him*, be it remembered, *with*

† If I was ſurprized at ſeeing the paper of Mr. Eyre, in which thoſe deficiencies were mentioned to *the Rector*, my ſurpriſe certainly could not be leſſened, when I lately read the following words, in a letter from Dr. Marſh, dated Dec. 11.

"Previouſly to ſigning Mr. C.'s ſtatement, I informed him by letter, that ſome circumſtance appeared to me not ſufficiently and particularly ſtated, and others not altogether accurately ſtated. Theſe were the reaſons I aſſigned, for not immediately complying with Mr. C.'s requeſt. I afterwards, however, did ſign it with the reſtrictions you have ſeen." Now, Dr. Marſh was not engaged to aſſiſt Mr. C.'s recollection, and therefore, he is juſtified in ſigning as he did. But it is very ſtrange to me, that, after ſuch notice from two of the witneſſes, Mr. C. ſhould ſend forth his ſtatement, "with all its imperfections on its head." Yet, when I conſider the intereſt Mr. C. had in propping the credibility of his own ſtatement, by the authority of theſe two witneſſes, I do not think it *equally* ſtrange, that he has avoided mentioning, in that ſtatement, the deficiencies and inaccuracies generally imputed to it by the gentlemen whoſe names he publiſhed without permiſſion.

having written any. *Without* reluctance I formerly gave him my reaſons for ſuſpecting him, becauſe he had a right to know them; and *with* reluctance I have now laid them before the public, in conſequence of the neceſſity which Mr. C. *himſelf* has impoſed upon me.

Earneſtly do I deſire the reader to obſerve, that, before I had any intention to draw up this pamphlet, Mr. C. himſelf had come forth in the character of an accuſer, and that long before I had finiſhed it, his accuſations were ſcattered through a wider range, and founded in a bolder ſtrain. When he printed and circulated his paper, he was an aſſailant, not a defendant.—When that paper was republiſhed, I was aſſailed again.—But the fierceſt aſſault was made, when deliberately writing a paper for the St. James's Chronicle, and openly ſigning it with his name, Mr. C. not only contradicted two of our witneſſes for giving me the praiſe of moderation and politeneſs, but affirmed, that "I as "much as inſinuated that he was perjured, and this upon "no better ground than my own conjecture." This, ſurely, is in itſelf, a ſerious charge. Mr. C. has ſeriouſly publiſhed it in the newſpaper, and I, in this pamphlet, have met it ſeriouſly. But upon examining, my words before the interview, during the interview, and after the interview, no impartial man will trace in them the meanneſs of inſinuation, or the flimſineſs of conjecture.—What I thought about the anonymous letters, I ſaid not rudely.—What I ſaid about them, I *alſo* thought not unreaſonably.—I think the ſame now, and, therefore, I again ſay the ſame, but without preſuming to affirm that I am not miſtaken, and without a wiſh to perſiſt in miſtake, when my opinion ſhall be encountered by ſubſtantial proof, inſtead of gratuitous aſſertion.

Let me, then, once more explain myſelf, in oppoſition to this odious charge of inſinuation. I have ſuſpected, but not accuſed. I avow the continuance of opinion, but reſiſt the imputation of conjecture. When Mr. C. ceaſes to cenſure me, I ſhall begin to

hope

hope better things of him—when he bluſters, I ſhall ſmile—when he reaſons, I ſhall attend—when he diſproves, I WILL retract.

In regard to Mr. Yates, that gentleman on Thurſday, the firſt of December, gave me authority to ſay, that "he had received from Mr. C. no copy of the "printed paper;" that "he ſigned it with a view to the "private ſatisfaction of Mr. C.'s friends only;" and, that "if he had been aware of Mr. C.'s intention to "publiſh it, he would *not* have *ſigned it at all.*" Knowing the profeſſional connection which ſubſiſts between Mr. Yates and Mr. C., I, from motives of delicacy, have declined conſulting the former about my own narative. But I am perſuaded, that he will not ſuffer his general aſſent to the printed paper of Mr. C. to diſcourage him from confeſſing any error, into which he, on the peruſal of the fore-going pages, may find himſelf to have fallen.—I cannot conclude this Sequel more agreeably, either to my reader, or to myſelf, than by aſſuring Mr. Yates, that there is no clergyman in the county of Warwick, to whom I give greater credit than to himſelf, for rectitude of intention, and benevolence of heart.

N. B.

N. B. THE wretched hand-writing, both of my amanuenſis and myſelf, the diſtance at which I live from the preſs, the little practice I have had in reviſing proof ſheets, and a fourth reaſon, which, in tenderneſs to the party concerned, I will not explain, occaſioned ſeveral errata in the firſt edition, which have not been noticed there.—I think it incumbent upon me now to apologize for them, and particularly to expreſs my concern, for a miſtake in the note of page 36 upon a point of fact which, however, was properly ſtated in page 38, and for a yet more ridiculous miſtake in page 42 upon a point of critical opinion, which I firſt corrected in the proof ſheets, and then endeavoured to avoid by cancelling the page. But the correction and the cancel were equally in vain—for the blunder continued, and left me expoſed to the imputation of nonſenſe, where I had written ſenſe, and of rudeneſs, where I had meant to ſhew reſpect.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

DR. WILLIAM THOMSON TO THE REV. DR. S. PARR.

THOUGH Mr. Mackintoſh has done me the honour of quoting me twice in his book, I confeſs I am more than half inclined to doubt whether the publication of all his political tenets, in the preſent fermentation of men's minds, is to be defended on the ground of political expediency or advantage. I know the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the purity of his intentions—I readily agree with you that he is by no means ſo rude, and undiſtinguiſhing a reformer as Paine! that his principles are more recondite, and his language much more proper and poliſhed; yet there is in his, as in moſt of the books of reformation that I have ſeen, a hardier air of innovation, I think, than a common parent would hazard in the arrangement of ſo numerous a family. For in all moral changes, the remote and unforeſeen conſequences are of much more importance than the immediate effect. A catalogue of great events produced by trifling cauſes, forms one of the moſt intereſting and inſtructive little works, (if a leſſon of great humility may be deemed inſtruction,) to be found in any language.

An architect builds a houſe in the moſt perfect ſymmetry, becauſe he has to do with dead things: with wood, and ſtones, and other inert and paſſive materials! But the ſouls of men with which the ſtateſman has to do, are living ſpirits. Theſe are materials which are to be treated with infinite delicacy. In tranſpoſing theſe, we muſt proceed gently, and by ſlow degrees, leſt we move more than we can wield. In the moral

world a ſmall ſpark ofttimes kindles a mighty flame, which neither reaſon nor eloquence can ſubdue. When ſhall natural philoſophers arrive at the art of moving the marble from the ſolid rock into arches and pillars, and other forms of architecture, by means of the projectile force of gunpowder? Scarcely is it leſs difficult for the moral philoſopher to combine the awakened propenſities, and diſcordant views of millions, in one harmonious and permanent political ſyſtem. But if the momentum of thoſe propenſities and views be not calculated with due exactneſs, the powder of paſſion, inſtead of raiſing a goodly political fabric, will cover the fair face of nature with volcanic aſhes. Poets have aſcribed certain edifices to the divine power of muſic; but the concord of ſweet ſounds is radically and eſſentially different from the angry paſſions. Harmony is creative! Diſcord is deſtructive!

I allow that moſt, I cannot ſay all, the ends or objects that our reformers contend for, are, in themſelves, deſirable. The point on which I am inclined, like yourſelf, to differ from this reſpectable body in opinion, relates chiefly to the degree of expedition with which it is proper and prudent to proceed towards their attainment. Nothing, in the general order of things, that is ſuddenly done, is well done. Great and comprehenſive deſigns are carried into execution by means gradual, ſlow, and, to the narrowneſs of human views, even dilatory and tardy. This, as I obſerved, and you approved, in my laſt letter, is the proceſs of nature, of providence, and of grace. From the conduct of divine grace and favour to all the Chriſtian world, the French nation have deigned to borrow their emphatic metaphor of REGENERATION.—The kingdom, they ſay, is regenerated, or to be regenerated in all its powers, which, according to a very common and comprehenſive diviſion, may be reduced to thoſe of willing, and thoſe of acting. By the firſt, ſuch laws are to be enacted as may produce the greateſt poſſible public good; and by the ſecond, thoſe laws are to be carried into execution in ſpite of all obſtacles ariſing either from internal injuſtice or foreign ambition. Can ſuch a work be the work of a day or a year? Is the *regeneration* of the ſacred writings, is the *new creature* in Chriſt Jeſus formed by inſtantaneous and miraculous converſion? No: but, in all ordinary caſes, by a ſucceſſion of diſpenſations, calculated for the ſtate or ſtage of the believer's mind, as he paſſes onward to moral perfection. At firſt, being wholly under the dominion of ſelfiſh paſſions, he is addreſſed by the law, denouncing vengeance on every worker of iniquity. He labours, therefore, to abſtain from evil, and to learn to do well from the humble

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and coarſe motive if I may ſay ſo, of fear of puniſhment, mingled with ſome faint hopes and glimpſes of future reward: and in this ſtate he is under the diſcipline of Elias and John, whoſe baptiſm reaches only to the external impurities of evil actions. But afterwards, as he advances in his courſe, he is initiated, by the unction of the Holy Spirit penetrating the very eſſence of his heart and ſoul, as by living fire, into a ſublime ſyſtem of action, in which perfect love caſteth out fear, and virtue and holineſs are purſued on their own account, as well as for his ſake in whom they were conſummated, and who is at once their patron and pattern. The National Aſſembly would have done well to have imitated the conduct of that ſacred and wiſe ſyſtem from which their favourite phraſe of regeneration is derived. It would have afforded them other benefits beſides that of a happy term.

In the Hindoo religion there is a trinity of deities, BRAMAH, CHIVEN, and VICHENOU: The firſt repreſenting the power of creation, the ſecond that of diſſolution and deſtruction, the third that of preſervation. In the allotment of one of thoſe three grand departments, into which the univerſe is divided to the god of deſtruction, do we not ſee the profoundeſt wiſdom? All things, exiſting in individuality, paſs away. Diſſolution precedes re-production: both of theſe enter equally into the plan of the Almighty ruler. Nor is it intended that there ſhould be any thing violent or painful in the former, any more than in the latter. Such is the benign wiſdom of HIM with whom a thouſand years are as one day, and one day as a thouſand years. While certain grand objects are advancing to their juſt completion, other inferior objects which ſerve as ſteps to thoſe, are alſo going on to theirs. The narrowneſs of our views, and the precipitancy of our ſpirits, hurry us into raſh and violent action; but in the order of nature, all is gradual and ſerene. Creative bounty is not more ſolicitous to raiſe new beings into life, than to lay thoſe it has raiſed gently down, like ripe fruit, into their mother's lap, without pain. The cave of death is more terrible at the entrance than within. The laſt ſtage of gradual diſſolution is not more painful than thoſe imperceptible changes that went before it. A tree grows up to maturity in a certain ſpace of time, flouriſhes in full ſtrength for an equal period, and in an equal, or nearly equal, ſinks down in total decay. An animal, in like manner, grows, flouriſhes, and decays by imperceptible degrees. Nature is ſlow, and, as it were, reluctant wholly to diſſolve whatever ſhe has formed. The withered branches and trunks of trees,

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the ſkeletons and bones of animals bleaching for many a year in the open air, mouldering towers preſerving their forms for centuries after they ceaſe to be inhabited: theſe ſtriking objects declare that gentle and divine gradation which nature evidently affects in all her external works.

The moral world moves in an higher order than the natural, but in a ſimilar ratio: one reaſon governing both. States, kingdoms, and empires have their growth, ſtrength, and decay; and, while they paſs on, like natural bodies, from form to form, it is the duty of legiſlators, in imitation of divine wiſdom, to be as tenderly concerned for their laſt ſtage as for their firſt.

It does not ſeem to be the part of wiſe ſtateſmen to create, ſo much as to improve governments. As there are various ſeeds profuſely ſcattered over the external face of nature, ſo there are various ſources of civil and political ſocieties. And as the huſbandman only pretends to cultivate, not to create the ſeeds of vegetables, ſo in like manner it is for the intereſt of human ſocieties that ſtateſmen, inſtead of forming, at once, the very ſtamina or eſſence of new governments, by a proceſs ſudden and violent, ſhould make the moſt of the old in the mean time, and aſſimilate them, according to the general œconomy of nature, by ſlow degrees, to the moſt approved forms that even metaphyſical policy can deviſe.—Such forms may ſerve legiſlators in the ſame manner that mariners are benefited by the polar ſtar; by which they are directed, but to which they never can approach.

But, to return to the compariſon drawn from the cultivation of ſeeds. It has been found, on trial, and that too by the ableſt men, that it is almoſt as difficult for the legiſlator to form, *à priori*, and without feeling his way by means of the thread of experience, a happy conſtitution of government, as it would be abſurd for a gardener, or huſbandman, to attempt, by a mixture of natural elements, to form an apple or an acorn. As the nature of a ſeed is beſt diſcovered by its developement into an herb, ſhrub, or tree, ſo the principles of government are beſt underſtood when they are contemplated in their action, effect, and full expanſion. In the moral, as well as in the natural world, the thing that has been, is that which ſhall be, and there is no new thing under the ſun. I cannot but think that the following fact, if it were brought to the recollection of our bold reformers, would ſtagger them not a little. The firſt ſettlements in North and South Carolina were begun a few years after the reſtoration of king Charles the Second. A grant of theſe provinces was made to ſeveral noblemen

noblemen and other perſons of rank, who employed the celebrated Mr. Locke to form a ſyſtem of government and code of laws for their new colony. Mr. Locke did ſo. But, it is certain, that however accurately he may have reaſoned on general principles, the ſettlements did not thrive under his inſtitutions, though ſupported by the wealth and influence of their rich and powerful proprietors. Nor did they ever begin to proſper, until government, many years afterwards, reſumed the grants, took the colony under their own immediate protection, laid aſide the inſtitutions of Mr. Locke, and gave the inhabitants a conſtitution ſimilar to that of Virginia: from which time to the preſent, their advancement in improvement has been as rapid as it was before ſlow and unpromiſing.

Another example of the folly of venturing too boldly in matters, where life, opinions, and manners are concerned, on abſtraction, and of the wiſdom too of returning from ſuch aerial flights to the palpability of experience, has been exhibited to Europe and the world, in our own times, by the preſent great and immortal empreſs of Ruſſia. It is well known, that this princeſs wiſhed to introduce freedom into her vaſt dominions, with equal effect and expedition. But the predial ſlaves, unaccuſtomed to make any diſtinctions between equal liberty and the moſt complete licentiouſneſs and anarchy, threatened the murder of their maſters * and the ſubverſion of all regular government. What courſe then did the empreſs follow? She did not abandon her object, but had recourſe to the guidance of hiſtory; from which ſhe learned, that liberty, in different proportions, had been introduced into the different kingdoms of civilized and poliſhed Europe, by granting, from time to time, gradual and partial privileges to the peaſantry. She eſtabliſhed hoſpitals for the reception of poor children, whom ſhe would have a right to ſet free, becauſe ſhe would be at the expence of their maintenance and education. She built the town or burg of Sophia, in which any ſlave, if he ſhould be able to make compenſation for his freedom, might find an aſylum from the tyranny of his lord.—Without loſing ſight of the ſublimeſt ends, to be brought about by gentle means, in the progreſs of time and accidents wiſely improved, the enlightened, liberal,

* This fact, with the horrors of St. Domingo, ſhould preach a leſſon of caution, if not of remorſe, to thoſe politicians who recommend the immediate abolition of the ſlave trade, and by raiſing the hopes, raiſe alſo the pride and the revenge of the negroes. Dr. W. T.——After reading the late intereſting debates upon the Abolition of the Slave Trade, I would be underſtood to ſay, S. P.

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and humane politician admires and imitates the conduct of the empreſs of Ruſſia, who goes on in the government of her great empire with a kind of flexible firmneſs, wiſely aiming at the controul of future, by yielding, in ſome meaſure, to preſent circumſtances and events. Such a ſage and humane politician is Dr. Ogilvie, profeſſor of humanity at Aberdeen; who, in his Eſſay on the Right of Property in Land, has laid down a plan that may multiply the independent cultivators of the ſoil, and thereby encreaſe the population, wealth, and comfort of the nation to a degree beyond the utmoſt flight of commerce, by a progreſſive agrarian, to be enlarged according to accidental and favourable circumſtances, without the ſmalleſt degree of confuſion, and without doing the ſmalleſt injury, either to the propriety of farms, or to the preſent occupant. This is the reform of a moral philoſopher and a gentlemen.

States are often compared to ſhips. The French, it has been ſaid, quitting the coaſting navigation of the ancients, have launched forth into the wide ocean of poſſibility, committing their ſafety to the polarity of reaſon. But how far the French, in loſing entire ſight of the ſhore, have acted wiſely, may juſtly be queſtioned.

> Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
> Semper urguendo, neque, dum procellas
> Cautus horreſcis, nimium premendo
> Litus iniquum.
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> HOR. lib. ii. od. 10.

It is equally improper to creep along too near the treacherous ſhore, and to bear for ever on the faithleſs deep. In political, as in maritime affairs, a free and noble courſe may be ſhaped with a ſound veſſel, an able pilot, and a proſperous gale. But when the tempeſt brews, and the face of heaven lowers, it is prudent to run into the neareſt harbour. If the port be any wiſe tolerable, make the moſt of it you can. Deepen it, enlarge it, extend moles into the ſea, introduce rivulets for clearing and filling it, even from the greateſt diſtances: try a thouſand expedients rather than commit anew your periſhable bark to the troubled and enſanguined ocean of total anarchy. It is in improving what we have, rather than in caſting about for new ſettlements, that genuine philanthropy and patriotiſm are uſually found to conſiſt.

That all men are equal by nature, is a fiction that may be innocent enough, ſo long as it is not made a level for ſubverting conſtitutions that have actually grown up and flouriſhed in inequality. It would be more philoſophical to ſay, that

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"the law is equal for all men," than that "all men are equal by "nature;" for laws are abſtracted or ideal things, which alone, as every metaphyſician and every geometrician knows, are ſuſceptible of perfect equality: whereas men and all other natural objects exiſt in individuals. It may be ſaid, that if all men are not equal in fact, yet they ought to be conſidered as equal, or at leaſt as poſſeſſing equal rights. But neither is this doctrine even morally or metaphyſically true. Sound policy often can recognize no other right than that of long and uninterupted occupancy. But if a nicer and more general foundation of property exiſts, on what is it founded? If it be ſaid, Providence, equally concerned for all his children, beſtows equal rights and privileges on all, it is moſt obvious to anſwer, that neither are equal rights and privileges, in fact, extended to all men; nor human happineſs greatly, if at all, affected by the circumſtance of diſparity of rank in life. Shall it be ſaid, after all, that men *ought* to have equal privileges? I reply, that there can be no reaſon given why there ſhould not be diverſities of ſtations, as well as there are diverſities of orders, or ſpecies of beings. There are different degrees of liberty and property enjoyed by different nations, and, in the ſame nation, by different individuals. But there is no human ſtate in which a certain degree of enjoyment is not found; none in which there is not room for the exerciſe of virtue; none that is entirely excluded from hope, the greateſt balm of life, either in the loweſt or the moſt exalted ſtations.

Diſtinction of rank and ſituation ariſes out of human nature, and redounds to human happineſs and grandeur. Were he who can turn the hearts of men like ſtreams of water, to pour the ſouls of a whole nation into one ſmooth and limpid pool, the even tranquillity of the aggregate maſs could not, without a continued miracle, be laſting. Winds and ſtorms of paſſion would ſoon agitate the face of the troubled waters. Foreign invaſions and domeſtic injuries would call forth the virtues of courage and juſtice; and the hero, the legiſlator, and the judge, attract the gratitude, the eſteem, and the reverence of his countrymen. The ſacred ſhade of admiration, which accompanies the benefactors of mankind during their life, is extended, in the imaginations and hearts of men, to their poſterity. All other circumſtances being equal, or but nearly equal, the ſon of the good and great man, even in the rudeſt tribes, carries the votes over the deſcendant of the undiſtinguiſhed barbarian. As ſociety advances towards civilization, the advantage of regular government, and hereditary ſucceſſion to various offices and immunities, over tumultuary elections and

ſudden deciſions, becomes more and more apparent. Divers orders, claſſes, or caſtes of men are formed, and the moral world is varied by ſuch a waving line as that, which, winding horizontally, or riſing and falling along mountains and vales, conducts and diſtributes the influences of heaven, and variegates the whole aſpect of external nature. It is, happily, ſuch a waving line, and not the parallellograms and acute angles of Dutch parterres, that is ſtill the REIGNING taſte in ENGLISH GARDENING.

By this happy conſtitution of nature, (for that it is the conſtitution of nature all hiſtory bears witneſs,) different ſtations are allotted to different people. A ſenſe of honour animates the man of birth to honourable atchievements; the hope of diſtinction, the plebeian to diſtinguiſhed actions; the convulſions incident to democracy are controuled, and the fabric of government, on which depends all that gives comfort, elegance, and dignity to life, is conſolidated and ſtrengthened. Inſtead, therefore, of wholly ſubverting monarhy, it becomes us to co-operate with the gracious will of Providence, the only ſolid baſis of moral obligation—it becomes us to cheriſh a ſpirit of reverence of the laws among the people, and to temperate the authority of kings by knowledge, by ſentiments, by manners, and the gradual introduction of counter-checks in the exerciſe of government.

Some people are ſo zealous in the work of political alteration, that they make no account of the preſent generation, but are intent ſolely on the convenience and comfort of poſterity. I do not, with the honeſt Iriſhman, aſk, What good ever poſterity did to us? but this I ſay, that we ſee only a ſhort way into futurity. Evils, as well as bleſſings, await poſterity that we little think of. Let us chiefly mind the matters that are immediately before us. Let us encounter the labour and the danger of removing preſent and preſſing calamities. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. I am not an enemy to political reformation: God forbid! But all political reforms ſhould be progreſſive and gradual. And it is ſurpriſing in how ſhort a time the ſteady and comprehenſive eye of political prudence accompliſhes her deſigns, by watching and improving ſituations, occaſions, and conjunctures.

The city of London contains many dirty cloſes and lanes; but it alſo contains many noble ſtreets and ſquares, though it be not built according to any regular plan of architecture. A wiſe government will gradually aſſimilate this great metropolis to ſome ſuch form, by taking advantage of the decay of ſtreets, the falling in of houſes, and accidental fires; but

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will be very cautious of adopting any ſcheme that might overturn its faireſt fabrics, or involve a general conflagration. This, one would imagine, is nothing more than COMMON SENSE!!

And now, my dear and moſt reſpected friend, I ſhall, in a very few words, apply all that I have been driving at in this political effuſion.

Mr. Burke (though he errs perhaps on the ſafer ſide) pays too much reſpect to eſtabliſhed inſtitutions; Mr. Paine far too little, and even our friend Mr. Mackintoſh not enough to ſatisfy you or myſelf. Upon theſe points we are agreed. But in my opinion, though not entirely in yours, the exact medium has been hit upon by M. de Calonne; whoſe advice, if his countrymen had followed, or, would yet follow, with ſuch additions and qualifications as moderate men would approve, they would not, with the example of the Engliſh conſtitution before their eyes, prefer a two-footed ſtool to a tripod.

W. T.

Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Chapel,
March 1ſt, 1792.

PAGE 37, line 26, [till Mr. Curtis ſhall, with his name.]

MR. CURTIS, I perceive, *has* authenticated this fact in a letter which is inſerted in the reply of the Birmingham Clergy to Dr. Prieſtley's Appeal, and which contains many valuable and characteriſtic materials for *ἀπομνημονεύματα*, to ſome future Biographer. Indeed, the Equeſtrian cruſade of our "peace-"maker by heart and profeſſion"—His ſolemn ſupplications in the name of the "Prince of Peace"—"The turn given "to the head" of a quadruped, which, doubtleſs, in fidelity, may vie with the horſes of Mezentius and Sir Hudibras, or the mares of Darius and Garagantua, or the mules of a Greek Biſhop and Publius Craſſus, or the aſſes of a Perſian Angarus and Sancho Pancha.——The atchievements diſplayed by the Thaumaturgic rider himſelf, when "parading the town," and haranguing the rioters before "places of worſhip", whether churches, it ſhould ſeem, or conventicles, the very ſight of which was more *likely* to increaſe their fury, than the eloquence of our Reverend orator was to aſſuage it—The triumphant entry "into the yard of the Hen and Chickens inn"—The promiſe

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made, and violated by the mob, to diſperſe upon being treated with ale—The promiſe ſpontaneouſly uttered by the rector, and, as it appears, reluctantly performed by him, to order that ale, and to *pay* for it, form a group far ſurpaſſing every deſcription ever written by a grave man upon a grave ſubject. At the *cloſe* of that letter, our rector, who had before minutely told us of one act of generoſity in offering a reward for the diſcovery of the hand-bill writer, ſlightly obſerves, that "he "might add," and *then* proceeds to add, two more inſtances of his benevolence, for each of which I ſhall commend him, when his narrative is *illuſtrated* by explanation, and his explanation fortified by proof. Upon one of the facts I ſhall take the liberty of making a few obſervations. "During the riots," ſays he, "my houſe at Solyhul was open to a diſſenter and his family." Who the diſſenter was the rector ſaith not. But if it was a Mr. Smith, I fear that our Good Samaritan has been learning from Peter Pindar the art of "remembering to forget." His ſtatement, indeed, upon this occaſion, if relating to Mr. Smith, may, like the ſtatement of the Coventry affair, be "correct ſo far as it goes." But is it the *whole* truth? No. Would the whole truth, if publiſhed, have given, *a very different aſpect to the whole tranſaction?* Yes. Did Mr. Smith *ſtay long* in the houſe which was opened to him by Mr. Curtis's permiſſion? No. Did he, after drinking tea and being invited to dine the next day, go by Mr. C.'s *requeſt from* Mr. C.'s houſe *to* the houſe of the Rev. Mr. Eyre? Yes. Is the kindneſs or even the *name* of Mr. Eyre mentioned by Mr. Curtis? No. Did not Mr. Smith ſtay by Mr. Eyre's requeſt under Mr Eyre's roof the whole night, and was he not driven thence the next day by the apprehenſions of the neighbours, and in the *abſence* of Mr. Eyre, who meant to have protected him *longer* in defiance of danger, whether real or imaginary? Yes. Now, this entrance of Mr. Smith's into the ſanctuary of the Solyhul rectory, and his departure from it, remind me of an old Roman who went into the Theatre, and came out again at the Floralia; and if we allow only for the ſlight difference of the heathen's doing by choice, what the diſſenter did by a ſort of *gentle compulſion*, a lover of truth might ſay to Mr. Smith, what a man of wit once ſaid to Cato.

An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?
Mart. lib. I. Epig. 3.

In juſtice to Mr. Eyre, I have unfolded the circumſtances of this little fact about Mr. Smith; and, in juſtice to Mr. Curtis, I ſhall add, that I believe him to have meant very well in his endeavours to ſave Mr. Taylor's houſe.

Note

Note on [Clergymen in Birmingham] page 49.

In the important controverſy between Dr. Prieſtly and ſome of the Clergy at Birmingham, ſo far as it relates to the time of the diſturbance there, I have no immediate concern. Yet as a well wiſher to the clerical order, I ought to ſay what with the ſincereſt ſatisfaction I now *do* ſay; that, before the publication of the Reply, I *had* heard ſome reports very much to the credit of two or three clergymen for their behaviour during the riots. But, upon this occaſion I had *not* heard, as in reality I ſhould have been very reluctant to believe, any one fact to the diſcredit of any one clergyman conſtantly reſident in the town. Of the controverſies *preceding* the tumult I ſay with unfeigned ſorrow,

Iliacos *intra* muros peccatur, et *extra*.

Note on [Man's rights] page 54, line 27.

I do not intend to ſay, that all the rights of men derived their *origin* from ſociety, but that in a well-regulated ſociety, their natural rights are recognized, preſerved, defined, and invigorated. In ſuch a ſociety, therefore, I would readily allow, with Mr. Mirabeau, that "obligatory law is only, and can only be, the faithful expreſſion of natural right cloathed with the ſanction of the public conſent."

MIRABEAU on *Lettres de Cachet*, Vol. I. p. 190.

Note on [reform of parliament] page 56, laſt line.

As to the *mode* or the *time* of introducing ſuch a reform, I preſume not to dictate, either to thoſe enlightened and well-meaning perſons who have aſſociated to haſten the meaſure, or that very numerous and reſpectable claſs of Senators, who, for reaſons, I doubt not, equally cogent, and with intentions equally upright, are diſpoſed to defer it during this unexampled and *myſterious* criſis of national *proſperity* and national *danger*. But never may I ſee *either* the mode, *or* the time, *or* the principle implicitly entruſted to that miniſter and that man, whoſe profeſſions and whoſe meaſures, during the ſpace of nine years, I have watched with the moſt unremitted attention, and weighed with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs—To him, whoſe *ends* in conſiſtency and inconſiſtency, in promiſes and menaces, in domineering reſiſtance and inſidious conceſſion, in clamouring for reform and varniſhing over abuſes, in deadening us to the love of liberty, and faſcinating us with the love of revenue, in ſupporting, at one moment, the prerogative of the crown, at another, the privileges of the commons, and at a third, the rights of the people; in playing off each againſt the other, and perhaps, eventually endangering all, are ſecretly and *invariably* the ſame—To him "the parts of whoſe politics (V. Harrington, p. 281), as was ſaid of thoſe in rhetoric, conſiſt of pronunciation," and whoſe talents for buſineſs, whether foreign or domeſtic, may be juſtly and luminouſly comprehended in theſe words, "Vertere ſuam naturam et regere ad tempus, atque huc et illuc torquere et flectere." Some men there are, more eloquent than Mr. Drake, more logical than Mr. Rolle, more diſintereſted than George Roſe, and more immaculate than John Wilkes, who dignify this conduct with the hallowed names of patriotiſm and loyalty, of wiſdom and virtue. But there may be others who exclaim with old Cato, "Vera rerum vocabula amiſimus."

Page 57——On the ſubject of Libels.

My wiſhes on this ſubject have been happily accompliſhed by the ſtrenuous exertions of Mr. Fox, and with the *obſcure*, *equivocal*, and reluctant permiſſion of a man, whom I ſhall not honour with the appellation of Mr. Fox's rival. There is an Ode of Pindar, which ſupplies me with terms well calculated to expreſs the real character of both. Of Mr. Fox I would ſay,

εὖ
Πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν
Ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμη-
τον· οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θυμὸν
Τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν·
Οἷα ψιθύρων βαλάμαις ἕπετ' αἰεί
Βροτῶν. Ἄμαχον κακὸν
Ἀμφοτέροις διαβολιᾶν ὑποφάτιες,
Ὀργαῖς ἀτενὲς ἀλωπέκων ἴκελοι.

Pindar Pyth. II.

Of the other I would ſay,

Ἀδύνατα δὲ ἔπος ἐκβαλεῖν
Κραταιὸν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς
Δόλιον ἀστόν. Ὅμως μὰν
Σαίνων ποτὶ πάντας ἄγαν
Παγχυ διαπλέκει.

My juſtification for applying the fore-going lines to their reſpective objects, may be found in the following paſſage, which I will place before the reader, to ſave him the trouble of looking at Pindar.

φίλον εἶη
Φιλεῖν· ποτὶ δ' ἐχθρὸν ἄ-
τ' ἐχθρὸς ἐὼν, λύκοιο δίκαν ὑποθεύσομαι,
Ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς,
Ἐν πάντα δὲ νομὸν εὐθύγλωσ-
σος ἀνὴρ προφέρει·
Παρὰ τυραννίδι, χὠπόταν ὁ
Λάβρος στρατὸς, χὤταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ
Τηρέοντι. id. ibid.

Some late events remind me of a ſtory which Monteſquieu tells, (Book vi, chap. 16) of Charles II. "Seeing a man in "the pillory, he aſked what was his crime. He was anſwered, "Pleaſe your majeſty, he has wrote a libel againſt your "miniſters. The fool! ſaid the king, why did not he write "againſt me? They would have done nothing to him." A late ſpeech upon the reform, alſo, brings to my recollection an obſervation of Harrington. "There is a term neceſſary to "make a man able to lead the government to *its* intereſt, and "there is a term which will enable a man to lead the common-"wealth to *his* intereſt." HARRINGTON, Page 322.

True, and there are men, who, overlooking or diſregarding the former, are keen enough in diſcerning, and ſkilful enough in improving the latter. Though I often quote Harrington, no man living can be *leſs* an advocate than myſelf for that pure common wealth, which, from the *peculiar* circumſtances of his own times, he was induced to delineate, but which I hold to be neither *deſirable* nor *practicable* in this country. On the contrary, I accede entirely to the opinion of Monteſquieu.

"Harrington, in his Oceana, has alſo enquired into the "utmoſt degree of liberty, to which the conſtitution of a ſtate "may be carried. But of him, indeed, it may be ſaid, that "for want of knowing the nature of real liberty, he buſied "himſelf in purſuit of an imaginary one: and that he built a "Chalcedon, though he had a Byzantium before his eyes."

Spirit of Laws, Book xi, chap. 6.

Note on (Police) page 57.

There is, perhaps, no ſubject of legiſlation whatſoever, that requires ſo ſtrong an union, and ſo vigorous a co-operation of talents and virtues—ſo much obſervation upon human manners —ſo much knowledge of human nature—ſo much diſtinction between temporary, and permanent cauſes of corruption—ſo much attention to the collateral, as well as the direct conſequences of reſtraint—ſo much caution in ſeparating reſiſtance to the profligate from gratification to the ambitious—ſo much delicacy in mingling the pure ore of morality with the coarſe alloy of politics—ſo much, dexterity in ſtrengthening publick juſtice without endangering private ſecurity, as are neceſſary in the regulation of police.

Deſpotic

Deſpotic governments may derive their *origin* from the violence of conquerors, or the craft of rulers. But for their *ſtability*, they are indebted to thoſe capricious and arbitrary reſtraints, which break down the rights and wound the ſpirits of men in private life, or to thoſe obſcure and captious regulations, which extort a gloomy and reluctant obedience from perplexed and benighted fear. I would not myſelf barter the ſolid bleſſings of liberty, for the ſlighter conveniences of police.—I approve of police itſelf, for its moral rather than its political effects, and therefore I am anxious to diffuſe among the people virtuous principles, the cultivation of which can alone qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom, the want of which in a free country muſt defeat the exerciſe of law, and the total neglect of encouraging which, in any legiſlative body, renders even the *right* of legiſlation in ſome caſes very diſputable. True it is, that the indolence, or the pride, or the ſelfiſhneſs of men may ſoon reconcile them to the infliction of puniſhment, eſpecially, where the higher orders of a community are perſonally not much expoſed to its terrors. But true benevolence and true wiſdom would find a nobler employment, and a wider ſcope of action, in extirpating thoſe vicious habits, and enlightening that deplorable ignorance, by which the lower claſſes of men are precipitated into guilt and danger. With concern, therefore, moſt unfeigned, have I ſeen a bill, which *appears* to me, not ſo much an improvement of Engliſh police, as a direct violation of all thoſe great principles by which the liberty of Engliſh individuals has been hitherto ſecured, and by which criminal law in England has been profeſſedly and happily regulated. As to the plea of convenience or neceſſity, which has been alledged for that law, I confeſs myſelf diſſatisfied.—Reſtraints of ſome kind were, I allow, highly proper. But the remedy may be more fatal than the diſeaſe. For, if I am not groſsly miſtaken, the principles of the law in queſtion are wholly unconſtitutional, the immediate operation of it will be oppreſſive, and the *precedent* itſelf is big with future danger. Indeed, I am the more ſhocked and the more alarmed, when I conſider that this law ſtalks forward at a time, when the extreme ſeverity of our penal code is univerſally acknowledged—when no attempts to correct its inequalities and to ſoften its rigours have been ſeriouſly made by any Miniſter or by any party—when the poor are loaded with diſtreſſes which call aloud for alleviation—and when they are expoſed to temptations for which the luxury of their age, the examples of their ſuperiors, the defects of their education, and the infirmity of human nature itſelf, will ſuggeſt ſuch extenuations, as no wiſe

and

and humane Legiſlator would diſregard. But if the eaſy detection of crimes, and the ſpeedy conviction of criminals, are to be made the *leading* principles of law for reſtraining them, we may be induced to heap experiment upon experiment, and at laſt to exchange the juries of Alfred for the inſtitutions of Draco. Non enim ibi conſiſtunt exempla, unde cœperunt, ſed quamlibet in tenuem recepta tramitem, latiſſime evagandi ſibi viam faciunt. (Vell. Paterculus, lib. ii.) This maxim is equally true in politics, and in morals; and I am not aſhamed to add that, upon meaſures which multiply legal puniſhments, I often look with far more jealouſy and far more anxiety, than upon thoſe civil regulations which excite a keener attention and a livelier oppoſition among the people, who, in watching the remote tendencies of power, ſometimes loſe ſight of its nearer effects, and who are more intent upon reſiſting their governors, than upon ſecuring themſelves. Let me, then, recommend to certain Legiſlators ſome profound and benevolent obſervations of M. Buffon, which may be applied to ſubjects of higher and more extenſive importance than the Weſtminſter Police Bill.

" Is there a ſingle nation who can boaſt of having arrived at " the beſt of poſſible governments?" a ' government which ' would render all men *not equally happy*, but *leſs unequally* ' *miſerable*, by attending to their preſervation, by ſoftening ' their labours, and ſparing their blood, by cultivating peace ' and procuring abundance of proviſions? This is the moral ' end of every ſociety of men who are anxious to improve their ' condition; and, with regard to the phyſical part of our na- ' ture, have the medical and other arts, whoſe objects are health ' and preſervation, made an equal progreſs as the arts of de- ' ſtruction invented for the purpoſes of war and carnage? In ' all ages, it appears that man has reflected deeper and made ' more reſearches concerning evil than good. In every ſociety ' there is a mixture of both; and as, of all ſentiments which ' affect the multitude, fear is the moſt powerful, great talents ' in the art of doing miſchief were the firſt which ſtruck the ' mind of man; he was afterwards occupied with the arts of ' amuſement; and it was not till after long experience in theſe ' two means of falſe honour and unprofitable pleaſure, that he ' at laſt recognized his true glory to be ſcience, and his true ' happineſs peace.' BUFFON, vol. ix. p. 409.

After writing this note, I found that the Members of the Bridewell Committee had propoſed to lay out part of their revenue in providing the means of labour for ſuch unhappy perſons as, when diſmiſſed from impriſonment, are deſtitute of employment,

ployment, a ſituation, Heaven knows, which has long called in vain for pity and ſuccour, and which has driven many wretches into crimes, by the impulſe of a neceſſity for which public juſtice makes no allowance, though public authority ſhould again and again have been exerciſed to prevent it. The propoſal of which I am ſpeaking, does infinite honour to the heads and hearts of thoſe by whom it was made, it entitles them to the thanks of the virtuous, and the bleſſings of the miſerable, and the effects of it will be not leſs beneficial nor leſs creditable to the community, than any police bill which *has* been framed, or is *likely* to be framed, by the worſhipful, the learned, the honourable, and the right honourable authors and ſupporters of this Weſtminſter ſtatute, from Mr. Chancellor Pitt down to Mr. Juſtice Manwaring, and from Mr. Juſtice Manwaring to Mr. Thieftaker Macmanus. As to the vagrant act, I reſpect the authority, without aſſenting to the arguments of the perſon who mentioned it in a late important debate. Indeed I ſpeak from ſomething better than caſual or ſuperficial obſervation, when I ſay that I rather wiſh to ſee the deficiencies of that act ſupplied in favour of diſtreſs, than the ſeverities of it extended for the prevention of theft. Let me then hope, that hereafter the wiſdom of parliament will correct any miſtake, which may have been committed during the preſent ſeſſions. *Experiments* in penal ſtatutes are rarely followed up by lenity; they lead imperceptibly from exceſs in prevention to exceſs in puniſhment, and when they encroach upon fundamental maxims of law, the injury done to the rights of the public is imperfectly compenſated by the ſecurity given to the property of individuals. Senators who make laws ſhould certainly underſtand the *terms* by which offences are deſcribed not leſs exactly than ſtipendiary magiſtrates by whom reputed offenders may be ſeized, convicted, and puniſhed. In every well-regulated community interpretation is dangerous in all criminal caſes, nor ſhould it be tolerated in any caſe, *unleſs* it operates upon the ſide of mercy.

Note on (Tythe Laws) page 57, line 5.

We now have a landed clergy, and never may I behold the day when the wantonneſs of innovation, or the luſt of rapine, ſhall degrade them into ſtipendiaries. To eſtabliſh a poor clergy in a rich nation, to multiply the members of a dependent order among free citizens, to diſcourage lettered teachers among an enlightened people, appear to me equally violations of juſtice, and ſoleciſms in policy.

Con-

Continuation of note, after (efficient principle) p. 58. l. 5.

The origin of peerage we can trace from the peculiar circumſtances of the feudal times; when perſonal valour, being eſteemed the greateſt excellence, was honoured by the greateſt rewards; and in England, where Peers already exiſt, it ſeems to be an *infringement upon the laws of the ſocial union* to aboliſh them, without proof of abuſes *ſo* flagrant as not to be extenuated, and ſo inveterate as not to be remedied. But I deny, and have given my reaſons for denying, this to be the ſituation of our own country. In the inſtitutions of a *new* government, indeed, different circumſtances might render the introduction of a peerage, either unneceſſary, as it ſeems to me, in Canada, or improper, as it confeſſedly is, in the United States of America. Yet, upon the mere *ſuppoſition* that a new government were to be eſtabliſhed in our own country, I am weak enough, if it be weakneſs, to acknowledge, that I would not *indiſcriminately* exclude even hereditary honours. I do not ſay, that the honours of a peerage ſhould in *every* caſe deſcend to the poſterity of a Peer. But I do ſay, that caſes, without any groſs improbability, may be ſtated, in which a wiſe Legiſlator, acting in conformity to the feudal *principle* of connecting public reward with public ſervices, *would* make the peerage hereditary, and in which public opinion, guided by public experience, would coincide with public authority. In point of *prudence*, the ſplendour of the encouragement ſhould be proportioned to the magnitude of the ſervice; and ſurely there is a natural ſentiment in the mind of man that anticipates a ſort of immortality in the preſervation of its own fame by diſtinctions appropriated to thoſe by whom our very exiſtence is, as it were, perpetuated in the view of our imaginations, of our affections, and of all our beſt and ſtrongeſt motives to virtuous actions. In point of *juſtice*, too, the rewards conferred upon merit may be rendered co-extenſive with the effects of the action performed. For, if the poſterity of a people are benefited by any ſignal exploit, I ſee not why the poſterity of the agent ſhould not have their ſhare in the honours, as well as the property of their anceſtor; *eſpecially* when the *continuance of the diſtinction* tends to produce an *imitation of the virtue*. But ſhall power be annexed to this diſtinction? I think that it may be annexed ſafely, where the curioſity or the jealouſy of men leads them to compare deſcendants with progenitors, and not only impels thoſe deſcendants to right by the love of reſpect, but reſtrains them from wrong

by

by the dread of infamy. Shall that power involve the great duties of Legiſlation? I think it ſhould, where the conſciouſneſs of poſſeſſing that power is likely to act for the encouragement of men to diſcharge thoſe duties well. Shall it be a power ſimilar to that which is exerciſed by the Engliſh Houſe of Lords? Again, I anſwer in the affirmative, becauſe, in the moſt civilized and enlightened country, I wiſh to ſee the buſineſs of legiſlation carried on progreſſively and deliberately—becauſe I wiſh to ſee it influenced by *every poſſible* motive to virtue—and becauſe, in the very freeſt government, I ſhould wiſh to ſee *one* aſſembly, the characteriſtic principles of which are *ſomewhat* leſs popular than the principles of the other.

[Tumultuous election of prelates] page 59. line 2.

"While men diſpute not of right, but of convenience, it is "wonderful to ſee what probable arguments are brought on "all ſides. Give me Cyprian and his times, there is no danger "in popular election. Give me the Nicene fathers, and let the "Biſhops take it willingly. Give me Theodoſius, Valentinian, "and Charles the Great, than royal election, there is nothing "ſafer." The foregoing paſſage is quoted by Harrington, (page 361,) and may be found, he ſays, in Grotius, De Imp: Sum. Pot. c. x. par. 31. The ſubject to which it relates is indeed very comprehenſive, and I ſhall ſtate my opinion upon it conciſely. Even in ſome earlier periods of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, dreadful and ſcandalous contentions aroſe from the popular election of Biſhops. But, in our own times, the right of appointing them exerciſed by Monarchs is, in my judgment, moſt conducive to the general peace of the community, to the real honour of the clergy, and to the beſt intereſts of religion. Loud as are popular complaints againſt the Epiſcopal clergy, I am convinced, that in learning and in morals they do no diſcredit to their high ſtation, nor do I believe that their independence is leſs than that of many lay Peers who poſſeſs, or wiſh to poſſeſs, civil offices in the ſtate. But I am *not* ſure that learning and morals would have the greateſt influence in popular elections, while I *am* ſure that the virtue of Biſhops would, in ſuch a caſe, be put to a ſevere trial, both in the exerciſe of authority over electors by whom they have been *favoured*, and in the preſervation of impartiality towards thoſe by whom they have been *oppoſed*. I once heard it remarked by a well-known advocate

cate for reformation, that many Prelates of the preſent day were indebted for their rank to the meritorious offices they had holden, as the maſters of public ſchools, or the inſtructors of illuſtrious young men. It was a juſt remark, and I honour alike the ſagacity and candour of him by whom it was made (Mr. H. Tooke.) Great and diſgraceful are the evils which too often ariſe from the *election* of clergymen even to *inferior* ſtations of the Church, and greater would be thoſe evils, if a ſpirit of cabal were raiſed among clerical electors, where their ſuffrages led to great power and great diſtinction, united with great emoluments.

Note on Page 61.

The reader will thank me for quoting from Dr. Dunbar this admirable paſſage, in order to illuſtrate and confirm what is ſaid in page 61 upon the moral effects of anceſtry.

"The improvement of the race of citizens was a favourite object of Spartan policy. And while with this view the laws authoriſed, under certain regulations, a community of wives, and even approved of croſſing the breed, they permitted not alliances or intermarriages amongſt the different orders of citizens. Such alliances and intermarriages were alſo expreſsly interdicted by the laws of Rome for upwards of three hundred years. The free ſpirit of the Romans, indeed, at laſt rebelled againſt ſuch odious diſtinctions, and opened to every citizen the way to civil honours. Yet the Romans themſelves, after ſo glorious a ſtruggle for privilege, againſt the uſurpation of a proud nobility, teſtified, in the very moment of victory, their reverence for patrician blood. (Tit. Liv. cap. 6. lib. 4.) Imagination ſurely, in all ſuch caſes, influences the judgment of the people; and while it inclines them ſo often to beſtow unmerited preference, it ſometimes elevates the character of the individuals to whom that preference is given. Men nobly born are animated with the idea, and think themſelves called upon, in a peculiar manner, to emulate the virtues, and to ſuſtain the honours of their name.

Et pater Æneas & avunculus excitat Hector.

They feel not what they are, but what they ought to be, till at laſt, by feeling what they ought to be, they become what they are

are not; and thus by reverencing the dignity of anceſtors, they learn to aſſert their own. But, independently of ſuch ſentiments, as well as of all the peculiar incentives to true glory, there is often an inviſible preparation of natural cauſes, which concurs with the civil order of things in prolonging the honours, or even the infancy of a race; and hereditary characteriſtics are interwoven into the genius and eſſence of the mind. Hence the milder glories of the Valerii: hence the unfeeling obſtinacy and inſolence of the Appian blood. And, perhaps, it will be found that the judgment of the crowd, in theſe, as in many inſtances, though ſwayed by imagination, has, however, a foundation in experience, and is, in part, conformable to general laws."

DUNBAR'S ESSAYS.

Now, if through any deluſion of the public mind, or by any convulſions in public events, which I deprecate from my ſoul, the well-earned, and well-ſupported honours of nobility ſhould ever be torn from the houſes of Norfolk, Portland, and Devonſhire, and from many other families which I could name, I ſhould mourn for my country as having loſt "ornamenta dignitatis, & præſidia ſtabilitatis ſuæ." V. Cic. Orat. pro M. Marcello.

While precautions are taking, and in ſome reſpects, I think properly, againſt a diſpoſition to innovate among the governed, let us review the effects of ſeeming innovations on the part of government itſelf; and in uſing the word government here, I ſpeak of the preſent adminiſtration only as a link joined to many former adminiſtrations. Now, the notorious and fatal experiment very early begun, and very diligently purſued in our own times, was to ſeparate, and by ſeparation to *humiliate*, that venerable claſs of ſtateſmen whoſe anceſtors introduced and ſupported the family now ſitting on the throne, to transfer Miniſterial confidence from Gentlemen to Stock-holders, and to give adventurous upſtarts that ſhare of the regal favour, which through the jealouſy of a lurking cabal, or the ambition of political novices, had been withdrawn from ſome of our ancient nobility. They who excel in the arts of deluſion, they whoſe education never ſtored their minds with deep and capacious principles, they whoſe talents are moſt advantageouſly exerted in converting known and fleeting circumſtances to unknown and laſting purpoſes, have found, or made for themſelves, too many corrupt advocates, and too many zealous auxiliaries in our ſlippery people,

Whoſe love is never link'd to the deſerter,
Till his deſerts are paſt,

ANTHONY and CLEOPATRA.

Hence by a ſeries of the deepeſt and darkeſt ſtratagems, by unremitted perſeverance, and by unprecedented rigour, this ſcheme has at laſt been carried into plenary execution. But what is the conſequence? *That* which wiſe men long foreſaw, *that* which good men now lament, and *that* which fooliſh and wicked men, I believe, did not directly intend. An honeſt and a firm body of men, who had guided the public affairs, becauſe they were *once* poſſeſſed of public confidence, no longer form a *barrier* between the ſilent encroachments of monarchy, and the tempeſtuous advances of democracy. But if they who committed the miſtake, are not yet grown wiſe enough to diſcover, and honeſt enough to correct it, every appeal muſt, I fear, *now* be made from the *crown* to the *people*—and between the crown and the people, every *conteſt* muſt be ſuſtained. What was a ſucceſsful expedient in 1783, may, in 1793, be converted into a deſtructive *precedent*. My hope is, however, that they, whom it moſt concerns, will ſee the imprudence, as well as the injuſtice, of this *modern* policy—That the old maxims of government will be reſtored ſo as to preſerve the old principles of the conſtitution—That temporary ſhifts and hazardous experiments will be abandoned for liberal and comprehenſive ſyſtems, and that the great truſt of adminiſtring the affairs of a great people will be faithfully conſigned to men, who are moſt worthy and moſt able to adminiſter them ——To men who are at once reſpectable for deſcent, wiſe from education, and independent from fortune—To men who have the ſtrongeſt obligations and the ſincereſt wiſhes to uphold the *real* dignity of the crown, to invigorate the *real* freedom of the people, and to diffuſe *real* proſperity through the empire. This well-meant and well-founded hope I would expreſs with all becoming and dutiful reſpect to that illuſtrious perſonage who has the power of fulfilling it, and with the ſame ſentiments of deference to thoſe who deſerve his confidence, and would not diſgrace his friendſhip, I addreſs the plain but intereſting conſiderations, which here follow.

From the ſhifting aſpects, of public affairs, and from the complex relations of many public queſtions, ſituations will ariſe in which, they who honourably agree upon general principles, may diſagree not diſhonourably in particular caſes. *Thus far* there is *no* danger; becauſe the habit of thinking together and acting together, the mutual experience of integrity, and the mutual endearments of friendſhip, would ſoon reunite thoſe whom an occaſional difference of opinion may *ſeem* to have ſeparated. But there is *real*, and *great* danger too, from the wily intrigues of ſuch men as are ever upon the *watch* to avail themſelves

of

of ſuch events, to ſpread their toils for unſuſpecting virtue, and to hold up the allurements of propitiation to inſulted ambition. Men there are, who, by ſplitting the ſtrength of others, hope to find a ſhelter for their own weakneſs. There are men, who, owing their unmerited elevation to the ſucceſs of that deteſtable maxim which bids them *divide, and govern*, would ſupport their tottering power by accommodating their old and favourite artifice to a *new* and *perplexing* ſtate of things. I hope, however, and I truſt, that experience has not been thrown away upon thoſe wiſe and worthy men, who, after being reluctantly and ungraciouſly admitted into office, were infidiouſly or rudely thruſt out of it——upon men whoſe virtues throw that dignity around *excluſion* from power, which the *poſſeſſion* of power cannot confer, whoſe ſucceſs depend upon their *union*, whoſe aims at all times, and in all ſituations have been ſteadily directed to the public good, and whoſe firmneſs at this critical moment will command public approbation, public reſpect, and public confidence. *Forgetful* they cannot be of the checks, which have been already thrown upon their patriotiſm. Inſenſible they cannot be of the trial to which they are now ſummoned in their loyalty and their honour.

Ἦ Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροίατο θυμῷ
Εἰ σφῶιν τάδε πάντα πυθοίατο μαρναμένοιϊν.

Iliad. I, l. 255.

Note on [relation.] page 73, line 13.

I am confident, that neither ancient nor modern hiſtory can produce any parallel for that language which has lately been adopted, or that principle which has lately been avowed, by Guſtavus, to whom I will not refuſe the praiſe of poliſhed manners and perſonal courage—by Leopold whoſe abilities I deſpiſe, and whoſe memory I execrate; and by another foreign potentate whoſe public meaſures have not been hitherto arrayed in that ſplendour which is neceſſary to cover the deformity of his military interpoſitions. Some monarchs, indeed, when they oppoſe improvement are influenced by *circumſtances*, like ſome theoriſts

when they profeſs to point out the means by which we are to be improved. They who are appointed to govern, confound tyranny with legal power, juſt as they who are doomed to obey, confound anarchy with wholeſome freedom, and upon both theſe abuſes, the philoſophical and virtuous patriot looks down with equal contempt.

That kings ſhould view with jealouſy any encroachment upon the rights of other kings, is, indeed, natural enough and pardonable enough. But their *perſonal* ſympathies ought not to produce any *political* effects. All lawful power is a truſt, and that power, of courſe, is to be exerciſed *only* over the people who *convey* that truſt. To me, therefore, it ſeems impoſſible that, conſiſtently either with propriety of language, or the conſtitutions of States, there can be *any* public relation whatſoever between the kings of different countries, *independently* of the protection which every king owes to his own country. The people of France convey no truſt to the king of Pruſſia, and conſequently it is not the duty of the king of Pruſſia to exerciſe any power over the people of France. In reſpect to *phyſical* power he may invade them, if he pleaſes, and conquer them, if he can. But in reſpect to *moral right* he, in his regal capacity, *is not* authorized to govern them, or to *interfere* in their government. If they wrong him, or his ſubjects, it is injuſtice. If he or his ſubjects interrupt by force of arms their internal regulations, it is *tyranny*. Their monarch in reſpect to thoſe regulations has *no relation* to other monarchs, nor ought to have any *dependence* upon them. Hence between the king of Pruſſia as ſuch, and the king of France as ſuch, there is no *intelligible* relation which can affect the internal government of their reſpective people; *becauſe* the governed of one country have no relation, expreſſed or implied, to the governors of another. Politics upon this ſubject may be illuſtrated by poetry——

Regum timendorum in *proprios greges*,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis.

Hor. Lib. 3, Od. 1.

Dread Sovereigns govern their own People; But the Empire of Jupiter is over Kings themselves

Note

Note on [Guarantee] page 74, line 12.

I *believe* that England is fortunately not fettered as guarantee for Brabant. Thanks to the pride or the ſuſpicion of the emperor Leopold, rather than to the foreſight or the moderation of chancellor Pitt!

Note on [concurrence of good government.] page 78, line 10.

I believe, *not* ſuch a republic as ſome men wiſh to be introduced into England, but *ſuch* a *mixed* government as happily *is* eſtabliſhed there, to be "*that* form, where the governors and governed, by adhering honeſtly to the principles of the conſtitution, may and even *muſt* have the ſame intereſt in preſerving it." I do *not* believe, that in the reign of George III. there is any ſettled purpoſe for deſtroying our liberties——but with ſincere deference to thoſe whom I eſteem the beſt ſtateſmen, and the beſt patriots in this country, I do confeſs, that if it were the pleaſure of the crown, and the ariſtocracy *to take the lead* in accommodating the forms of our government to the acknowledged principles of the conſtitution, and the ſeeming exigencies of the times, they would remove ſome of the defects which have been juſtly imputed to the policy of Elizabeth. Firſt, they would eſtabliſh ſuch a monarchy to the ſucceſſors of the crown, as they may retain——ſecondly, monarchy would retain the royal dignity and revenue to the full, both improved and diſcharged of all *envy*.——thirdly, they would ſave the confuſion which aroſe from the neglect of Elizabeth and the approach of which many good men apprehend in our own days—fourthly, they would bequeath to the people a light, not ſo naturally by them to be diſcovered; for, "even as the many (ſays Machiavel, lib. I, cap. 5th of Dec.) through the different opinions

which muſt abound among them, are not apt to introduce a government, as not underſtanding the good of it, ſo the many, having by trial and experience once attained to this underſtanding, agree *not* to quit ſuch a government. Finally, they will place this nation in that perfect felicity, which ſo far as concerns mere prudence, it is in the power of human nature to enjoy." For the matter and almoſt the words of the concluding part of this note, I am indebted to Harrington (page 390), and I reſpectively ſubmit them to the judgment and candour of thoſe illuſtrious perſons, for whoſe peruſal they *chiefly* are intended.

Note on (Great Britain) page 84, line 6.

I muſt ſay of our mixed government, what Harrington ſays of the common-wealth in his time. "The ſafety of the people of England is now plainly caſt upon *ſkill or ſufficiency* in political architecture. It is not enough, therefore, that there are honeſt men addicted to all the good ends of a government, unleſs there be ſkill alſo in the formation of thoſe proper means by which ſuch ends may be attained, which is a ſad but true account, this being in all experience and in the judgment of all politicians, that, whereof the *many* are incapable."

Note on (no concern,) page 96, l. *penult.*

On the day of the riots, I dined with the preſident and fellows of Magdalen College Oxford, and ſure I am, that the kingdom cannot furniſh a body of men more ſincerely attached to our civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. I do not, however, ſuppoſe that they would have joined in the ſavage yell of church and king, *id eſt*, a chuch *without* chriſtianity, and a king *above* law.

law. *Such* a church and ſuch a king, however popular among rioters and the abettors of riot, are unknown among learned academics, who underſtand what they approve, who reverence public regulations for their public utility, and who, in defending the privileges of their governors, would be aſhamed to invade the rights of their fellow citizens.

Continuation of note on (Regency buſineſs.) page 106.

When I ſee acknowledged Tories and ſuſpected republicans *concurring* with equal eagerneſs in any *meaſure*, I always entertain very ſerious doubts about the ſoundneſs of its *principle*. In the diſpute upon the regency, the Tories contended for what they ſuppoſed to be, the perſonal wiſhes, as well as the conſtitutional prerogative of the king; the republicans graſped at what they conceived to be, an acceſſion to the rights and the power of the people; and I doubt not, but that they who had the art to lead both, have often exulted in their ſucceſsful endeavours to deceive both. The Tories in their zeal ſeized the immediate effect, and the republicans with their ſagacity, looked on to the diſtant. The Tories *have* obtained a temporary gratification, and the republicans may *hope* to obtain a gratification more important and more laſting. But to *divide* the power of the crown tends, in my opinion, not merely to enfeeble, but to annihilate it; and as it *has* been ſaid by a miniſter, that a regent can carry on the affairs of government with diminiſhed ſtrength and dininiſhed ſplendour, *ſo* it may hereafter be ſaid by reformers, yet more ſpeciouſly and yet more dangerouſly, that a king can do the ſame. This terrifying conſequence I drew from the favourite premiſes of the moment, when the queſtion was agitated in parliament, and I find, as indeed I *expected* to find, that from the ſame premiſes the ſame conſequence has ſince been drawn by other perſons, who look with a much leſs favourable eye than I do, upon regal power.

Continuation of note in page 107 on the word [to expreſs it.]

This obſervation muſt, however, be underſtood with reſtrictions. In the fury of literary and theological conflicts there is a ſtrange proneneſs in almoſt all diſputants to mix collateral circumſtances with fundamental principles—to confound the abſtract with the practical merits of a queſtion—to wander from proofs to perſonalities—to blacken antagoniſts with the odium of conſequences, which, perhaps, they do not admit—and to load them with reſponſibility for motives by which they are not actuated. But were I deſired to ſtate the queſtions upon which ſuch arts of controverſy ſhould, in point of *propriety*, be moſt ſparingly employed, I ſhould name preciſely *thoſe very* queſtions, upon which, in point of *fact*, they are employed moſt laviſhly. On ſubjects of criticiſm, of politics, and, ſometimes, even of common life, there are degrees of ſeverity which I quite approve, degrees, which I can juſt endure, and degrees, which I ſincerely condemn. But as thoſe ſubjects relate to human opinions and human affairs, which come more immediately within our notice, and lie entirely under our controul, error is eaſily rectified, and miſrepreſentation, even where it prevails for a time, is rarely accompanied by very baneful or very permanent effects. Religion, on the other hand, is ſo majeſtic in itſelf, and ſo momentous in its conſequences—ſome of its evidences are ſo complex, and ſome of its principles are ſo recondite—its ſpeculative topics are faſtened by ſuch nice and ſecret ties to its practical tendencies—the diſcuſſion of thoſe topics brings into action ſo many weakneſſes, as well as powers, and ſo many bad, as well as good, paſſions of the human mind—the influence of thoſe paſſions is ſo extenſive and ſo pernicious, that for all theſe various reaſons I am particularly offended with the inſolence of dogmatiſm and the acrimony of invective upon ſubjects of theology—upon ſubjects, be it remembered, where truth indeed is not always within our reach, but where humility, caution, and charity make a viſible and a moſt indiſpenſable part of our duty. Indeed, that dignified delicacy of ſentiment, and that ſolemn compoſure of temper which every honeſt man feels and cheriſhes in his reflections upon the nature, or the works, or the moral government, or the reveal-

ed

ed will of the Deity, are ill exchanged for the fervours of zeal, and the triumphs of wit. To me, then, it appears, that no error however groſs, no hereſy however bold, no infidelity however undiſguiſed, ſhould, as matters of mere opinion, provoke us to violence of language, while they whom we oppoſe, have recourſe to argument and abſtain from rudeneſs. But againſt thoſe who ſcatter *inſinuations* and *ſneers* upon things ſacred, againſt thoſe who ſcoff at *all* religion, and make a mock of all ſin, againſt thoſe who endeavour not only to bereave us of hope, but to ſeduce us from *virtue*, I ſhould think myſelf warranted to employ the *moſt* degrading reproach, and the moſt mortifying ridicule.

Such are the diſtinctions I make upon a very important ſubject of morality, and I am not ſorry to have an opportunity of ſtating to the public, what I have more than once advanced and defended againſt Dr. Johnſon in converſation.

Continuation of the firſt note in page 194, after the word [ἀριθμῷ.]

Soon after the firſt edition of this work had been publiſhed, a very judicious and ſpirited attempt was made by Mr. Whitbread to bring the queſtion of the riots for inveſtigation before Parliament. The Miniſter, upon this very important and diſtreſſing occaſion, was wary enough to entrench himſelf within *general* or *collateral* topics of defence, whilſt his auxiliary *in the forlorn hope*, was luckleſs enough to ſkirmiſh through a detail in which facts were barren of conſequences, affirmations unſupported by evidence, and pretended realities confuted by notorious appearances. If common ſenſe were not ſometimes at variance with policy, I ſhould have maintained, that to bring to light and to condign puniſhment the authors and abettors of paſt riots, *if* ſuch there be, was the very beſt expedient for diſcouraging that ſpirit of tumult, which, according to the evidence of thoſe who would *neither inquire nor puniſh*, is now riſing in this country. But the ſame common ſenſe will *farther* ſuggeſt that S—t—s, or under-S—t—s, who have had opportunities for contemplating the fair, I ſhould rather ſay, or the foul and hideous form of truth in her *moſt ſecret receſſes*, may be too delicate to let her be diſturbed in her ſlumbers, and that a narrow and crooked ſort of wiſdom may ſomewhere

where be found, which diſcovers loyalty in the actual outrages of 1791, while it dreads, or affects to dread, rebellion in the tendencies to outrage imputed to 1792.

Upon the ſubject of a late Proclamation I hope to give no offence by obſerving, that, however I might have pauſed about the amendment of Mr. Grey, I was neither enlightened by the ſtatement of Mr. Secretary Dundas, nor convinced by the ſubtilties of Sir Peper Arden, nor amuſed by the ſophiſms and the ſarcaſms of a new convert from empiricism.

Though governments are rarely ſo ſupine as to ſtand in need of direct encouragement to put their ſtrength in motion, and to ſet their emiſſaries on the watch, yet I *do* know that inflammatory writings have been circulated with malignant activity, and I *lament*, too, that their efficacy has been ſuch as to warrant, not violence, perhaps, but precaution. I ſhould have ſeen, however, a kind of dignity, which I did not ſee, if Mr. Paine's abilities had been treated with leſs petulance of contempt at the moment when the effects of his opinions were deſcribed with ſo much oracular obſcurity, and deplored with ſo much tragical pathos, when ſimilar concluſions were drawn from contradictory premiſes, when the growth of ſedition itſelf was announced in one quarter, and the impotence of ſeditious leaders was ridiculed in another. I ſhould have ſeen the wiſdom which I did not ſee, if they whoſe duty it was to know and to ſpeak the truth, had vouchſafed to put aſſertion under the protection of proof—if they had marſhalled their flying parties of hints and ſurmiſes under the guidance and diſcipline of explanation—if they had been more pointed in their charges againſt *real* offenders, and more ſparing of inſinuations againſt thoſe who have *no deſign* to offend. But in political, as well as religious converſions, zeal ſpeedily bounds over the fences of decorum, and eagerly wreaks its firſt and heavieſt vengeance upon the cauſe which it has abandoned.

I ſhould myſelf apply the epithet of *very* indiſcreet * and *very* unbecoming, rather than of illegal or of diſloyal, to an *open* correſpondence with the National Aſſembly of France, *becauſe* that Aſſembly now conſtitutes the *legitimate* government of a country with which we have no public variance—becauſe its claims have been admitted by the French ſovereign at home—and becauſe its authority has, in ſome inſtances, been virtually recognized by the reception of French Ambaſſadors abroad. But *all ſecret correſpondence* whatſoever between clubs which are known to be

* *No part* of this Note is, or ought to be, pointed at the very reſpectable Gentlemen who lately receded from the aſſociation, and in truth the *whole* of it was written ſeveral days before I even knew of the event.

factious

factious in France, and ſocieties ſuſpected of faction in England, are indiſputably very proper objects of watchfulneſs and animadverſion. Though I believe the foundations of the Engliſh government too ſolid to be ſhaken by any confederacies of Engliſh and French mal-contents, I think it the indiſpenſable duty of governors to check every beginning of *real* evil, by the energy of law, by the authority of Parliament, and, if the neceſſity were fairly proved, inſtead of being gratuitouſly aſſumed, even by the *terror of arms*. While, therefore, moderate men are not confounded with turbulent men, and while they who avow their purpoſes are not yoked with the reſtraints which it may be uſeful to impoſe on others who avow them *not*, I ſhould readily acquieſce in the propriety of the Proclamation. I ſhould put the merits of it upon the broad, plain, and inoffenſive grounds of *expediency*, on which they very judiciouſly were placed by the Duke of Portland, and by one whom I conſider as firmly attached to the happineſs and the freedom of a people whom he is deſtined by law one day or other to govern, and whom he is alike diſpoſed by principle and qualified by education to govern well. I hope, then, that the ultimate effects of the Proclamation will be ſalutary, though I confeſs *ſome* of its indirect purpoſes to have been *in appearance* not very candid.

Great, however, was my ſurpriſe, and yet greater my concern, when I ſaw that Mr. Grey and other Gentlemen condeſcended to make a formal defence of the Aſſociation, and that they even *permitted* the merits of it to be, in any degree whatſoever, or in any form whatſoever, implicated in the diſcuſſion of a topic, which by the evidence of their more ſagacious friends and their more liberal antagoniſts, was totally unconnected with that Aſſociation. Miſrepreſented the Aſſociates *were*, and inſulted by miſrepreſentation—But inſtead of repelling the accuſation, they ſhould have been content with *retorting upon the accuſer*. They ſhould have ridiculed, without deigning to refute him—they ſhould have ſported with his complaints, inſtead of grappling with his cavils—they ſhould have pitied him in the agonies of his fury, and chaſtiſed him for the ſallies of his petulance—they ſhould have made themſelves terrible by acting upon the offenſive *only*, rather than ſecure by acting upon the defenſive at all.

As to any applauſe which I have to beſtow upon the members of the aſſociation, it muſt be chiefly *confined* to the purity of their intentions, to the ſpendour of their abilities, and to the dignity of their private and their public, their literary and their political characters. Hitherto they have borrowed no aid from the influence of the duke of Richmond, the arguments of Mr. Wyvil,

Wyvil, the patriotiſm of Mr. Pitt, or the principles of Mr. H. Tooke. But in the wiſe and animated declaration by which they have ſeparated *themſelves*, their *views* and their *opinions* from the admirers of Mr. Paine, they have given a ſincere and deciſive proof of their *future* prudence, in adapting their meaſures to the peculiar difficulties of the times, in conſulting, not the paſſions, but the judgment of the people, and in *preſerving* as well as reforming, the conſtitution. In their conduct, doubtleſs, they will have little to fear from the power of an attorney general, from the malignity of apoſtates, or the treachery of ſpies. In their ſpeeches they will have as little to dread from the ſophiſtry of their verſatile opponent, or the ſcurrilities of his venal panegyriſts. In their writings, if they ſhould ever be under the neceſſity of mingling the poignancy of accuſation with the vigour of defence, they will obtain a compleat triumph over that opponent in clearneſs of proof, in ſolidity of reaſoning, in liberality of ſpirit, in openneſs of conduct, and in correctneſs, energy, and magnificence of ſtile.

As to our converts, ſome of them are, probably, diſpleaſed and even alarmed, becauſe ſentiments, which they wiſhed to be long concealed, have been diſcloſed *prematurely*, becauſe the language and the meaſures of 1782 ſtand in no very advantageous point of view for compariſon with the language and the meaſures of 1792, and becauſe the inclination to gratify the wiſhes of reformers will be thought by ſome keen obſervers to proceed in an inverſe ratio with the power to introduce reform. They may be ſorry to find, that they are charged with making a ſurrender of their virtues in that ſpace which poets have aſſigned to the ſiege of Troy. But, if I miſtake not, they are *more* deeply and *more* ſorely hurt at the *remote* conſequences of detection, and at the obſtacles which lie in the way of their future glory. A cloud, indeed, has overſhadowed no ſmall portion of their former popularity. But this might be borne, if they were not doomed to perpetual exile from the *promiſed land* of reform; if the very atmoſphere they muſt hereafter breath, were not loaded with impurities from the foul and ſtagnant waters of corruption; if the very orbits in which they are now deſtined to perform their uniform and ſluggiſh revolutions, were not placed at a cheerleſs diſtance from the bright and genial rays of public favour.

Trying, no doubt, it is for men who have long feaſted on the luxuries of praiſe, to loſe any large ſhare of the delicious ſuperfluities by which they were fed and pampered, eſpecially when the loſs is accompanied, not only by glaring *proofs* that there is a great want of conſiſtency now, but by very ſtrong

preſumptions, that there was a *little* want of ſincerity before. Yet the worſt and the heavieſt aggravations of this loſs are, that the means of retrieving character ſeem to be forfeited irrecoverably—that what is openly avowed to anſwer a preſent purpoſe, may defeat what was *ſecretly treaſured up for future* purpoſes—that, hereafter they cannot annoy others by *expatiating and inſiſting upon the utility of experiments*, the approach of which appears to annoy themſelves—that no ſpecious plans can be ſpread out before the lovers of innovation—that no ſplendid orations can be pronounced before the admirers of eloquence—that an old and a favourite, or at leaſt, a *convenient* cauſe has unexpectedly dropt into the hands of *other* perſons, who probably will not be diſpoſed to accept as allies, thoſe men whom they have *already* reprobated as *deſerters*, and even encountered as opponents—that the *failure* of *that* cauſe in *thoſe* hands will not be diſgraced by the imputation of perfidy—and that the *ſucceſs* of it will be dignified with the praiſe of conſiſtency as well as ſincerity, of firmneſs as well as ardour, of integrity as well as wiſdom. Theſe moſt aſſuredly *are* mortifying conſiderations, nor do I deny that the pity as well as the ſcorn of good men may be due to thoſe once erratic politicians, who are moſt likely to be affected by them.

Without intending the ſmalleſt affront to the judgment or the honour of the aſſociates, I moſt openly confeſs, that many ſtrong reaſons have occurred to my mind againſt the propriety, not indeed of diſcuſſing ſpeculatively, but of hurrying on practically, a parliamentary reform at this juncture. I muſt, however, be permitted to obſerve, that the plea of confidence, though in the ſtruggles of debate it might ſerve the purpoſe, either of oratorical Evolutions to political Martinets, or of a logical intrenchment to military Quixots, *lingers* among the *laſt* and *leaſt* reaſons in my judgment. Nay I ſhould *rather* ſay, that, were I to admit the fact, it ſhould upon every principle of conſiſtency ſtand among the firſt and ſtrongeſt motives ſome men can have to begin reform: for, if that confidence be well grounded, the mere prejudices of the people would approve of the meaſure, and if it be ill grounded, the very ſafety of the people might require the meaſure. I ſhould ſay that in point of *fact*, the phalanx of placemen is more numerous, the burthen of taxes is more oppreſſive, the expences of a peace-eſtabliſhment are greater, and the influence of the crown is not leſs extenſive, than at a former period. I ſhould ſay that, in point of *opinion* with myſelf and many other men, miniſters are not *eminently* wiſer, nor ſenators inconteſtably more pure, than they were during the American war. In point of probability,

bility, I ſhould ſay, that evils may exiſt, and be felt to exiſt, while the good ſenſe and the good nature of the people keep them firmly attached to a conſtitution very excellent in itſelf, and *juſtly* endeared to Engliſhmen by education, by habit, and by experience.

I ſhould ſay in the way of argument *ad hominem*, that the enthuſiaſtic fondneſs of a people for their Government is often more apparent than real, that it forms a very uncertain criterion for the conſtancy of the one, or the merits of the other; that the French, who in 1772 were bigotted in their attachment even to the abuſe of monarchy, are in 1792 ruſhing towards the oppoſite extreme of democracy; that the ebullitions of popular rapture and of popular fury may alike be produced by an *artificial* and merely *external* heat; that in more countries than one, and more ages than one, courtiers by profeſſion, as well as incendiaries by principle, have found an intereſt in raiſing falſe alarms—that terror is a weapon eaſily wielded by thoſe who are too clumſy to vanquiſh by argument—that in the memory of men, and even of *boys*, inflammatory hand-bills were ſcattered, and crafty ſpies were ſtationed in order to defame both *perſons*, whom they, who ſupplanted them, cannot imitate, and *meaſures*, which a ſubſequent attempt at imitation has proved to be good—that impoſtors often make their eſcape from the odium which they expect to hunt down themſelves, by letting looſe calumny and clamour in a rude and ſavage chace againſt their purſuers—that the aſſociations, which ſome perſons obliquely reprobate, are more reſpectable in their members, more cautious in their meaſures, and more temperate in their profeſſions, than thoſe very aſſociations with which thoſe very perſons have *once* acted openly—that the oppoſition of Borough-voters and Borough-mongers muſt *then* certainly have been foreſeen, and would probably have been derided, by men who may now be intereſted in *exciting* that oppoſition, and in ſheltering the cauſe of, what they called, corruption, under the partial approbation of perſons whom they called corrupt—that the diſcuſſion of ten years is not unlikely to have produced more correct knowledge and leſs extravagant zeal among good citizens, than may heretofore have appeared—that ſeaſons of proſperity and general content are fitter for internal regulations, than ſeaſons of diſaſter and general diſcontent—that for the exiſtence of theſe halcyon ſeaſons, we have the evidence of thoſe who ought not to be ſlack in improving them to the utmoſt poſſible advantage—that paſſion, in ſuch ſeaſons, will act leſs, and reaſon will act more—that the voice of the people, when it would ſpeak from reaſon,

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is ſometimes ſtifled by thoſe who prompted, and echoed, and re-echoed that voice when it *did* ſpeak from paſſion—that reform, if it were ſafe and neceſſary before, may at leaſt be not very unſafe, nor very improper, now—that if the miniſtry be a bad one, (which I ſay not,) ſuch a reform may have a tendency to make it good—and that if the miniſtry be a good one, (which I alſo ſay not) the ſame reform may be effectual in making it better. Above all, I would contend in the way of *direct* and *unqualified* argument, that the merits or the demerits of this or that adminiſtration are of little or no moment, in the execution of a ſcheme ſo profound in its principles, ſo comprehenſive in its relations, ſo complex in its proceſs, ſo intereſting to the prejudices and the reaſon of the people, ſo connected with the privileges of individuals and the rights of the community, ſo important both in its immediate and its diſtant conſequences, ſo pregnant with public danger, or public utility. Narrow, indeed, and abject muſt be the ſpirit of that enquirer, who, in determining upon a plan, which aims at controuling *all* future Miniſters, and which involves the freedom and the happineſs of generations yet unborn, would ſuffer his ardour to be repreſſed, and his judgment to be warped, by the real or the imaginary virtues of any one man, or any one ſet of men, whoſe counſels operate only through one part of one reign, and upon whom, when they have ſtrutted upon their great ſtage for their little hour, the grave will be for ever cloſed.

After the ſtatement of theſe appoſite and ſtubborn objections to a plea which may be fallacious, and cannot be concluſive, will it not be preſumed that I am myſelf an advocate for inſtantaneous reform? Moſt ſincerely, and moſt decidedly I am not. And my reaſons for not being ſo, are ſome, particular in relation to the times, and others, general in relation to the ſubject itſelf.

In reſpect to the times, I know that in the minds of ſome men error is, in a very *unuſual* degree, blended with truth—that many men, under the diſguiſe of reforming parliament, wiſh to bereave us of our mixed government—that conſummate and even *extraordinary* caution is requiſite in ſeparating the judgment of thoſe who love and would improve the conſtitution, from the machinations of thoſe who diſlike and depreciate it, and that, during the preſent agitation of the public mind, the attempt itſelf would be imperfectly underſtood, and the execution not very graciouſly received. Let me here anticipate a plauſible objection. That ſome will be diſſatisfied becauſe too little is done, and others, becauſe it is too much—that viſionaries will be eager for doing again what bigots would be ſor-

ty to ſee done at all—that popularity allures thoſe, who would do ſomething, and that corruption reſtrains thoſe who would do nothing, are general complaints, I may be told, which, at all times, will be urged upon all topics of public concern.

I admit the occaſional truth of theſe aſſertions, and yet I will reſiſt the total application of them, to the particular meaſure of which I am ſpeaking. Objections muſt often have been juſt, *before* they become general, and being general, they are not *always* vague. *Looſely* as they may hang to ſome ſubjects, they may be *cloſely* fitted to others; and upon the ſubject of *immediate* reform all the foregoing objections, except that which imputes a contemptible paſſion for popularity to reformers, appear to me *ſo* pertinent and ſo forcible, that I approve of *delay* on the preſumption that it is not *inſidious*, as I alſo ſhould not wholly diſapprove of *preparation* upon the condition that it be not *tumultuous*.

In regard to the general ſubject itſelf, the moſt ſubſtantial of my reaſons are, that after ſome reading and reflection, I am every day more and more convinced, not only as to the reality and the magnitude of the evil, but as to the difficulties and dangers of the cure: that I wiſh to ſee the ſpirit of patriotiſm *united* with the ſpirit of loyalty, in curbing the ſpirit of party: that the *principles* of ſpecific plans, whatſoever they may contain, and by whomſoever they may be propoſed, ſhould, in my opinion, undergo repeated diſcuſſions among the people before they are brought into parliament; and *then* ſhould paſs through the ordeal of a moſt impartial, deliberate, and ſolemn examination in parliament, before they acquire the authority of law.

The reader may now ſee the whole extent of my meaning, when I ſpoke of a "well-conſidered plan," and he may alſo ſee the ſteadineſs with which I adhere to my avowed maxim, that no ſcheme of reform would be quite ſatisfactory to me, unleſs it were executed by the "concurrence of good government with good citizens."

The importance of the ſubject, will, I hope, be thought a ſufficient excuſe for the length of this note. *Leſs* I could ſcarcely ſay, conſiſtently with that openneſs which every private citizen ought to ſhew upon public topics. It will be time enough to ſay *more* when the opinions of the people themſelves are better known, when the aſſociation has made greater progreſs in aſcertaining or guiding thoſe opinions, and when *ſuch* a plan is produced as appeals to the enlightened and unprejudiced judgment of the community; ſuch a plan, as may deſerve the attention, if not the ſupport, of parliament: ſuch a plan, as furniſhes no opportunity, either for cavil to the tools of corruption, or for triumph to the emiſſaries of ſedition.

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For certain reaſons already adduced, and up to a certain point already ſtated, I do not object to the Proclamation—But I diſtinguiſh between the proclamation itſelf, and the motives of ſome miniſterial perſons who ſupported it. I diſtinguiſh between the effects produced by it, as a ſhield to the peaceable, and as a toy to the vain. I diſtinguiſh in the arguments alledged for it, between the loyal concurrence of one party which I revere, and the intereſted views of another party which I diſtruſt. I diſtinguiſh in the commendations beſtowed upon it, between gratitude to a ſovereign, and adulation to a miniſter. To the addreſs of the two houſes I cannot indeed refuſe my aſſent and my praiſe, becauſe as a meaſure, it appears to me judicious and conſtitutional, and becauſe as a compoſition it is dignified without the trappings of hyperbolical deſcription, and ſpirited without the prancings of invidious alluſion. But the buſineſs ſhould have ſtopped at this point, becauſe all that is *beyond* this point, however it may ſeem immediately to ſtrengthen the hands of government, tends, I fear, ultimately to inflame the animoſities of the governed. Parliament was nearly unanimous, and I think with Parliament—But the people are divided, and therefore I would not have irritated the people. As to that hoſt of addreſſes which will be drawn up in ſplendid array againſt what the good citizens of London have eloquently called "*ſpeculative* and impracticable *Theories*," I have only to obſerve, that they are aids which cunning can at all times entice from credulity, and power command from hypocriſy—that, upon ſeveral occaſions, they have been ſucceſsfully ſummoned into action to cover the retreat of impoſture, and to ſwell the triumphs of trifles—and that at the preſent juncture, they are very proper ſubjects of exultation to Mr. Pitt, and of ridicule or ſorrow to men of cool and deep reflexion. Doubtleſs, with chiliads of ſpies upon the right hand, and myriads of addreſſers upon the left, with a band of captive Aſſociates fettered and muzzled in the van, and with legions of military Protectors waving their Banners, and brandiſhing their Scymitars, in the rear, the Proclamation will be conducted in a moſt brilliant proceſſion to the temple of Fame.

As I have great reaſon to believe that the purpoſe and the contents of a letter which I lately wrote, have been groſsly miſrepreſented, it is incumbent upon me to ſtate the following particulars: A very ſenſible gentleman lately informed me, that a meeting of the Aldgate aſſociates would be holden on Monday the 11th of June, and added that he ſhould "feel great pleaſure in being permitted to propoſe me as an honorary member." I ſent him the following anſwer:

Sir,

Sir,

I laſt night received the favour of your letter, and a printed paper of what was done by the gentlemen of the Aldgate ſociety, who met in Mitre-court May 28th.—I am extremely happy that any opinions which I have delivered to the world, are honoured by their approbation; and, at the ſame time, I muſt take the liberty of obſerving, that, probably, their ſentiments about the time and manner of effecting a political reform, do not entirely coincide with my own. Their third reſolution ſtates, what I have no where maintained nor even hinted, that, "every Britiſh commoner has right to an actual "ſhare in legiſlation itſelf, or in electing ſome one of thoſe "who are to form the laws." Their fourth reſolution ſtates ſomething very remote, indeed, from my own ſettled and avowed judgment.—*They* ſay, that "it is the right of a Britiſh "commoner to elect a new Parliament once at leaſt every year." But I have ſaid, that my own wiſhes "go to little or no change "in the circumſtance of duration." Here then you will obſerve two very ſtrong points upon which I have not the good fortune to agree with the Aldgate ſociety, and at the ſame time you will do me the juſtice to believe, that while I point out the particulars in which we differ, I by no means intend to expreſs the ſmalleſt diſreſpect to them in conſequence of that difference. But if our opinions really agreed, I ſhould ſtill be under the neceſſity of declining your offer to propoſe me as an honorary member. Upon all *proper* occaſions I ſhall lay before the public the opinions I may have formed upon ſubjects in which the freedom of this country is concerned, and I moſt certainly think that it has received very deep wounds during the adminiſtration of Mr. ——, and that the confidence which he exacts, is neither deſerved by him, nor can be ſafe for the people. At the ſame time I will not engage in any aſſociation *whatſoever*, and upon this principle I refuſed to belong to the aſſociation of which Mr. Grey is a member, though I have a great reſpect for him and his friends, though I ſee nothing of which I diſapprove in the third paper which they have already publiſhed, and though I deſpiſe and abhor the calumnies which Mr. —— and his minions have dared to caſt againſt them.

Upon the great queſtion of reform I have beſtowed much attention, and have often felt a very painful ſuſpenſe of judgment. But my opinion in favour of ſome reform is *now* decided, though I leave abler politicians than myſelf to determine the time and manner. To Mr. ——'s plan I had many objections, and I certainly ſhould have voted againſt it, as I believe,

believe, too, that he muſt himſelf have ſeen its defects, and had no ſerious intention to carry it into execution. The view I have taken of the ſubject is indeed very large, and as it was by ſlow degrees that I made up my mind upon the propriety of reform, ſo, probably, I ſhall not be haſty in deciding upon the merits of any ſpecific plan which may hereafter be brought forward. Were I indeed to detail all the information I poſſeſs, or all the arguments I could advance upon this very comprehenſive and difficult topic, they would fill a large volume. I wiſh for the ſake of the public I had time to arrange my thoughts, as they probably would be well received by intelligent and honeſt men of all parties. But my avocations are ſo numerous and ſo preſſing, that I have not a hope even of beginning ſuch a work. Do me the honor of conveying my reſpects to the ſociety, and of adding my earneſt hope that they will proceed with moderation, as well as firmneſs. I am, Sir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

June 9th, 1792. S. PARR.

In conſequence of ſome fooliſh and even calumnious paragraphs which came to me on the 16th of June, I wrote again to Mr. —— in theſe wrods:

Sir,

Having ſeen in the miniſterial paper ſome alluſions to the letter which I wrote to you laſt week, and which I did not authoriſe, or expect, you to publiſh, I muſt take the liberty of aſking by what means, and to what extent the contents of that letter have been made known. As a private individual, you requeſted permiſſion to introduce me to the Aldgate Society, and as a private individual, I told you that I would not engage in *any* aſſociation whatſoever, and therefore had refuſed to belong to the aſſociation of which Mr. Grey is a member—The ſubſequent ſentences which relate to my enquiries into the ſubject of reform, and to my general deciſion upon it, were matters of mere *private* correſpondence, and addreſſed to you *perſonally*. How then can they be known to the public without a violation of that confidence and ſecrecy which you ought to have obſerved? I profeſſedly declined giving my opinion upon the time and manner of attempting any reform—I told you that I ſhould not be haſty in deciding upon the merits of ſuch ſpecific plans as may hereafter be brought forward; I pointed out *two very important* inſtances in which I differ widely from the Aldgate Society, but I did not mean that any of thoſe particulars ſhould be read by you in the preſence of gentlemen with whom I have no connection, and of whoſe opinions I have no

other knowledge than what I obtained from their advertiſements of May 28th. You were only to convey my reſpects to the Society, and to add my earneſt hope that they would proceed with moderation as well as firmneſs. But if you have not done more than this, I am at a loſs to account for the contemptible paragraphs I have ſeen in the newſpapers; and if you have done more than this, I muſt lament your want of prudence, and even condemn your want of fidelity, in communicating to a public ſociety what I wrote for your own private peruſal. I muſt beg the favour of you, Sir, to ſend me a clear and immediate anſwer to this letter, and

I remain, Sir, your moſt obedient Servant,

S. PARR.

Saturday, June 16, 1792.

I found, June 22nd, that Mr. —— without my permiſſion, and contrary to my expectation, had ſhewn my letter to the members of the Aldgate Society; and that ſeveral parts, which certainly were not meant for their inſpection, had been thought worthy of their commendation.

Continuation of the ſecond note in page 114, after the quotation from the Gentleman's Magazine.

A candid and judicious writer in the Monthly Review for April 1792 confeſſes, "that Dr. Prieſtley has been perſecuted," and very properly adds, that "the true friends to our Conſti-"tution in Church and State are diſpleaſed with his perſecu-"tion." But what ſays the London Reviewer of Berrington's Hiſtory of Henry II.? I will quote his remarkable words: "In "conſequence of ſuch meaſures Becket was murdered. This "deed is one of thoſe which *we* muſt ſay, as *we* ſay of the riots "at Birmingham, that the act was bad, but the ſufferer de-"ſerved it." Is not the writer of this article a perſon whom I have been long accuſtomed to *reſpect* and *admire*, as an antiquarian of eminence, as a ſcholar above mediocrity, as a man of genius, and of all the glowing enthuſiaſm by which genius is diſtinguiſhed, as a Chriſtian, orthodox in his faith, fervent in his devotion, and virtuous in his life? Is it not HE, who with ſuch irreſiſtible reaſoning confuted the ſpecious hypotheſis of Macpherſon, who which ſuch brilliant eloquence laid bare the hiſtorical defects of Gibbon, and who by proofs, which do equal honour to the clearneſs of his head, and the goodneſs of his heart, has, after a lapſe of two centuries, vindicated the innocence

cence of Mary Queen of Scots, to the conviction of the preſent age, and for the inſtruction of the lateſt poſterity? From ſuch a man I never can diſſent without regret—with ſuch a man I will expoſtulate without acrimony.

If the diſſenters were wrong, as I think they were, in aſſembling on the 14th of July, ſurely they deſerve not the *whole* of what they have ſuffered. Surely, unleſs the reviewer has adopted the ſtoical tenets of *equality* in offences, he will agree with me who abhor, and with a poet who has ridiculed thoſe tenets.

Adſit
Regula, quæ pœnas peccatis irroget æquas.
Hor. Satir. 3, lib. 1.

If the reaſoning of a Heathen poet has no weight upon his mind, he will admit upon far higher authority, that "there is "a ſin *not* unto death."

With the rigorous ſentence paſſed by the Engliſh reviewer, let me contraſt the milder and juſter opinion of the Rev. Mr. F. Randolph, in the preface to his ſcriptural reviſion of Socinian arguments addreſſed to Dr. Prieſtley. "I mean not "to give a looſe to intemperate zeal: I do not addreſs you "with the ſpirit of controverſy, nor wiſh to engage in the "bitter warfare of words. Though perſonally unknown, I "reſpect your abilities, and eſteem you for your private vir-"tues; and am happy to add my teſtimony to thoſe, I truſt, "of every Chriſtian of every ſect and denomination whatever, "that no perſon can, with greater ſincerity than myſelf, "deplore, the ſavage outrages under which you have lately "ſuffered."

As to the harangues of coffee-houſe politicians, or of political lawyers, I have not been in the way of being annoyed by them. A brother clergyman of mine was, indeed, led by *curioſity*, or by duty, to be a very attentive hearer of ſome late proceedings in a certain court of juſtice. But my ears were not polluted with the vapid witticiſms, the frothy cavils, and the bitter invectives, which flowed from the lips of a prattling ſcioliſt, whoſe name I will not condeſcend to mention. In iſtis tam frigidis, tam jejunis calumniis, per me licet, deliteſcat. It has, however, fallen in my way to trace the progreſs of a certain perſon through the leges atticæ of Petit, and great was the amuſement I found upon obſerving both the articles which he *had* marked in the index, and thoſe which he ſeems *not* to have read in the book.—The former I ſhall, in politeneſs, forbear to enumerate.—But among the latter, probably, is the

ſixth title of the ſeventh book de convitiis. Diſtinguiſhed as he is by the faults, but not the talents of Caſſius Severus, he would there have ſeen, and with the aid of a Latin tranſlation he perhaps might have underſtood, a law of Solon, which forbad citizens to abuſe any living perſon πρὸς δικαστηρίοις. He would have found, τοὺς λεγοντάς τι τῶν Απορρήτων πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν, unleſs they proved what they ſaid to be true; and if the avoidance of the fine, had in a late cauſe, depended upon the proof of the allegation, I know *what* would have been the deciſion, *not*, perhaps at ———, but at Athens. Let me, however, commend our orator's prudence for expunging, as I am told he did, ſome intemperate paſſages from a very well-written book which has lately appeared; and let me, alſo, commend the ſenſible author of that book for his moderation, in not admitting certain invidious quotations, which, as I have heard, it was the wiſh of our orator to inſert in it.

On the very day that I ſent this Appendix to Mr. Dilly in London, I had the pleaſure of receiving ſome intelligence, which makes it neceſſary for me to ſtate the following facts.

At the beginning of the note which is here continued, I, in the firſt edition of the Sequel, informed my readers, that, in purſuance of the meaſures taken by a learned friend at Birmingham and myſelf, ſome political dialogues of which I diſapproved, and which had begun to be publiſhed in that town, were diſcontinued. *Now* I have the ſatisfaction of laying before my readers an additional, and a moſt honourable inſtance of the readineſs which the diſſenters of Birmingham ſhew to be convinced by ſuch arguments, and to follow ſuch counſels, as are founded in juſtice, and expreſſed with moderation. Having been told, at different times, and in different places, that they intended to meet on the approaching 14th of July, I wrote a pamphlet for the purpoſe of diſſuading them from perſevering in that intention. The title of the pamphlet is "A Letter "from Irenopolis to the Inhabitants of Eleutheropolis; or a "Serious Addreſs to the Diſſenters of Birmingham by a Mem-"ber of the Eſtabliſhed Church*." For reaſons of delicacy, I did not at firſt affix my name to the book. But I am now happy to avow myſelf the author of it, in conſequence

* I have lately been informed, and I think myſelf bound to ſtate, that on the very day when the letter from Irenopolis was advertiſed in the Birmingham papers, and on the fourth day before it was publiſhed, two or three diſſenters waited upon a noble and worthy peer in Staffordſhire, and aſſured him that they did not intend to meet upon the 14th of July. As my arguments were well-meant and well-founded, I feel no anxiety to enquire *minutely*, how far my opinions were anticipated by the good ſenſe of thoſe perſons to whom they were addreſſed.

of

of an advertiſement, which, on the very day week after my publication, appeared in Aris's Birmingham Gazette of June 4th, and which I ſhall take the liberty of republiſhing here, *becauſe* it reflects the higheſt honour upon the diſcretion, upon the manlineſs, upon the candour, and upon the loyalty of the gentlemen by whom it was written.

Birmingham, June 2, 1792.

"A report having been propagated, that it is intended to celebrate the commemoration of the French Revolution in this town on the 14th of July next enſuing—it is hereby declared by thoſe who promoted the laſt anniverſary, that the ſaid report is groundleſs. And although they have ſeen no reaſon to change their ſentiments, that they ought to rejoice as *men* at the emancipation of ſo many of their fellow-men from the miſeries of a government univerſally allowed to be tyrannical: or *as Britons and good citizens* that the beneficial conſequences of the French revolution to the commerce, and to the finances of this country, by preventing foreign wars, have been already felt, and have contributed to the national peace and proſperity—yet they are too much the friends of peace and order, to endanger the public tranquility in the preſent criſis. They conclude this advertiſement with the ſame ſentiment as they began their laſt meeting, by declaring their loyalty to "the King and Conſtitution †," their attachment to which remains unalterable, notwithſtanding the injuries which ſome of them have received from the temporary deluſion of their townſmen.

This advertiſement ought to ſilence the clamours of thoſe deluded or moſt uncandid perſons, who indiſcriminately charge the diſſenters with obſtinacy of temper, and diſloyalty of principle. As a *fact*, it eſtabliſhes the rectitude of *their* intentions, and as an *example*, it will repreſs, I hope, the blind and furious zeal of their enemies.

Note on [Dean of Chriſt Church] page 105, line 18.

Having lately heard that this obſervation was made by ſome other perſon in the preſence of the Dean of Chriſt church, I ſhall ſtate the paſſage which induced me to impute it to him. "In a converſation I had laſt ſummer, at which Dr. Jackſon, Dean of Chriſt Church Oxford was preſent, I maintained the

† This was the firſt toaſt at the Hotel, 14th of July 1791.

importance

importance of *three* different powers in every well balanced ſtate, with ſo much earneſtneſs, that with great good humour, he and the reſt of the company rallied me, as being a *trinitarian in politics*, though an *unitarian in religion*."

Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham by Dr. Prieſtley, page 89.

Continuation of note in page 116.

The reader, perhaps, will be amuſed upon being told, that the moſt furious enemies to the Arian hereſy in the fourth century were the ſect of *Luciferians*. They were called ſo from Lucifer, Biſhop of Cagliari in Sardinia, "who broke," ſays Moſheim, "the bonds of fraternal communion with Eu-"ſebius Biſhop of Vercell in the year 363, becauſe the latter "had conſecrated Paulinus Biſhop of Antioch; and he af-"terwards ſeparated himſelf from the whole church, on ac-"count of the act of abſolution it had paſſed in favour of "thoſe, who, under Conſtantius had deſerted to the Arians."

Vid. Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 313.

But their ſucceſſors in our own times have *another*, and a ſtronger title to this appellation. Such was the intolerance of the antient Luciferians, that "they gave," ſays Bingham, "the "church the rudeſt language, ſtiling her the brothel houſe and "the ſynagogue of Anti-Chriſt and Satan;" And all this, it ſhould ſeem, for a meaſure of conſummate prudence and moderation—Vid. book I. cap. 3. of Bingham's Antiquities. But our modern Luciferians, not content with uttering bitter reproaches againſt Heretics, and perhaps againſt eccleſiaſtics who beſt underſtand the doctrines, and who are moſt attached to the real honour of the orthodox church, have practically wreaked their fury in *ſuch* a manner, as would fully juſtify wiſe and good men in applying to *them* this very characteriſtic name.

Note on [Anonymous Letter] page 138.

As Mr. Curtis has publicly accuſed me of writing to him a letter, "*which he would ſooner have his right-hand cut off than* "*be the author of*," I ſhall print it, not through choice but neceſſity; not from motives of enmity, but of fidelity; not with

with any intention of rudeneſs to him, but for the ſake of juſtice to myſelf. It is remarkable, that after *one hearing* at the interview, Mr. Curtis, almoſt with the preciſion of the original writer himſelf, remembered, enumerated, and proclaimed many offenſive *particulars* of the two anonymous letters ſent to me. Equally remarkable is it, that after one hearing at Coventry, and probably *more* than one peruſal at Solyhull, of the letter which he received from me, he was content with paſſing upon it a *general* and emphatical ſentence of condemnation. By the firſt of theſe expedients he might intend to expoſe me, and by the ſecond, not only to expoſe me, but to ſcreen himſelf. Undoubtedly, the letter I ſent him, would not have been publiſhed by me, if the paper of Mr. C. had not been printed, circulated, and republiſhed. As, however, Mr. C. has *compelled* me to bring forward what I meant only to be read privately, I muſt now declare, that the ſeverer parts of my letter to him were written by me deliberately, but are applied to him *conditionally*.

Note on [pernicious novelties] page 165. line 11.

The ſecond part of Mr. Paine's book upon the Rights of Man has lately reached me. In many of his remarks upon the advantages of extended repreſentation, and in his wiſhes, though *by no means* in his *plan*, of making effectual proviſion for the inſtruction, the employment, and the comfort of the poor, I concur with him. But I hope not to offend his admirers by the compariſon, when I ſay, that his project for leſſening the expences of government, reminds me of Milton's favourite notion, that the "trappings of a monarchy would ſet up an ordinary common-wealth," and induces me to rank him with thoſe "acrimonious and ſurly republicans, who," as Johnſon ſays, "from a ſhallow policy, ſuppoſe money to be the chief good."—See Johnſon's Life of Milton, p. 210. and Dr. Birch's Life, p. 75 of the quarto edition of Milton's proſe works.

Againſt Mr. Paine's inſidious and inflammatory remarks upon hereditary ſucceſſion I enter my ſincere proteſt, and I beg leave to add, that the abſtract ſubject is diſcuſſed with more ability, coolneſs, and dignity, in ſections the 6th, 13th, 14th, and 18th, of Book 1. of Sidney's Diſcourſes upon Government. Paine's obſervations upon the word republic are juſt, but not new; and his readers will find a better account of the term in a fragment of

of Cicero's, prefixed to the works of Harrington, from whose Oceana I will quote a paſſage, which, probably, will not be unacceptable to thoſe, who have received the ſame impreſſion from Mr. Paine's writings with myſelf.

"It will be convenient in this place to ſpeak a word to "ſuch as go about to inſinuate to the nobility and gentry "a fear of the people, or to the people a fear of the "nobility and gentry, as if their intereſts were deſtruc-"tive to each other; when, indeed, an army may as well "conſiſt of ſoldiers without officers, or of officers without "ſoldiers, as a common-wealth, (eſpecially ſuch a one as is "capable of greatneſs,) of a people without a gentry, or of a "gentry without a people. Wherefore this (though not "always ſo intended, as may appear by Machiavel, who elſe "would be guilty,) is a *pernicious error*. There is ſomething "firſt in the making of a common-wealth, then in the govern-"ing of it, and laſt of all in leading of its armies; which (though "there be great divines, great lawyers, great men in all pro-"feſſions,) ſeems to be peculiar only to the genius of a gen-"tleman. For ſo it is in the univerſal ſeries of ſtory, that if "any man has founded a common-wealth, he was *firſt a* "*gentleman*." Oceana, p. 56.

The foregoing paſſage deſerves to be compared with what Harrington has written in page 42, about Machiavel.

Having myſelf mentioned the writings of Machiavel once in this pamphlet, I will now guard againſt miſconception, by ſaying, that I have not read him without diſtinguiſhing, between the re-lative and abſolute approbation of the crooked policy which he imputes to governors, and which, I am well aware, he by no means recommends in ſuch a government, as, in his eſtima-tion, or my own, deſerves to be called a good one.

"Neither Hippocrates nor Machiavel introduced diſeaſe into "man's body, nor corruption into government, which were "before their times, and ſeeing they do but diſcover them, it "muſt be confeſſed that ſo much as they have done tends not "to the encreaſe but the cure of them, which is the intent of "theſe two authors." HARRINGTON, page 514.

By thoſe who are moſt qualified to conduct the Engliſh govern-ment, and to preſerve the true principles of the conſtitution, I hope to be pardoned, when I take the liberty of recommending to their ſerious conſideration the ſagacious remarks of Harrington, upon "changes in the balance of property." The general princi-ples which he has eſtabliſhed may be applied, I think, with great propriety and great advantage by our legiſlature, to the alter-ations which commerce has introduced in the property of this country ſince the Revolution.

My Reverend Brother, Mr. C., will excuſe me for quoting Gregory Nazianzen upon the equality of men, and he may be aſſured, that I do not include the Birmingham rector in the catalogue of thoſe readers, who, remembering Edmund Waller's Speech againſt the Abolition of Epiſcopacy, (See Johnſon's Life of Waller, p. 339.) will find no difficulty in applying to political ſubjects, what Gregory wrote upon eccleſiaſtical in the following lines:

Ξυνὸς μὲν πάντεσσιν ἀὴρ, ξυνὴ δέ τε γαῖα,
Ξυνὸς δ' ἐρανὸς εὐρὺς, ἅ τ' ἐρανὸς θέμασι φαίνει,
Ξυνὴ δ' αὖ πόντοιο χάρις, ξυνοί τε θόωκοι.
Μή τε τὶς ἓν ἁρπάζῃ, μή τέκτων, μὴ σκυτοεργὸς,
Μὴ θήρην μεθέπων, μή τ' ἔμπυρον ἔργον ἐλαύνων,
Τῆλε μένοι, μὴ δ' ἄλλον ἔχοι σημάντορα θεῖον.
Κρεῖσσον γὰρ κρατέειν ἢὲ κρατέοντι πιθέσθαι.
Αλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν πέλεκυν μέγαν, ὃς δ' ἀρ' ἐχέτλην
Ῥίψας, ὃς δὲ δορὴν, ὃς δάρεα, ὃς δὲ πυράγρην,
Ἐνθάδ' ἴοι, θείην δὲ περιθλίβοιθε τράπεζαν,
Στεινόμενοι, στεινῶντες, ὁ δ' ἄλκιμος ἄλλον ἐλαύνοι.

Vide Carmen 11th, p. 83, vol. 2, edit. Paris, 1630.

The learned reader will eaſily apply theſe lines to that fanciful or miſchievous equality which cannot exiſt without a complete revolution in property, which cannot be introduced without violence, which, if ſo introduced, would by violence be ſoon deſtroyed, or, if not ſo deſtroyed, would be gradually ſuperſeded by that inequality, which is the juſt and ſalutary effect of ſuperior induſtry, wiſdom, virtue, and in ſome caſes, even perſonal valour. Well has the ſubject been explained in the ſecond publication of Sir Brooke Boothby, which I read after reviſing the laſt ſheet of the former edition of the Sequel. Ambitious, indeed, I am of declaring myſelf a whig, upon the ſound and temperate principles which that excellent man has ſo ably defended, and ſo clearly illuſtrated. I am happy to cloſe this note with a ſincere and reſpectful tribute of commendation to his very maſculine underſtanding, and moſt genuine patriotiſm.

FINIS.